

A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

~~THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE~~

Compiled from the

Lecture Notes of Pandit Upendranath Vidya-
bhushana Sastrī, B.A., M.R.I.S., Senior Professor
of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages, City
College Calcutta and some eminent senior
Professors of First Grade Colleges

PUBLISHED BY
S K MITRA, B.A.
SISIR PUBLISHING HOUSE
197 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta

Price Rupee One & Annas Six Only

12s 3d

Printed by—Sashi
AT THE METCAL
15, *Nayanchand Dutt*

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

A Short History of the study of Indian Literature in Europe

After Alexander's invasion the Greeks to some extent became acquainted with the learning of the Indians. The Arabs in middle ages introduced the knowledge of Indian science to the west. A few European missionaries from the 16th century onwards acquired some familiarity with the ancient language of India. Abraham Roger translated Bhartrihari's poems into Dutch in 1657. But the first impulse to the study of Sanskrit was given by the practical administrative needs of the English Indian possessions. Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of the East India Company, to rule as far as practicable the Hindus in accordance with their own laws & customs, prepared a digest of the Hindu law an English translation wherof was published in 1776. Charles Wilkins at Hastings' instigation learnt Sanskrit at Benares & in 1785 published a translation of the Gita (गीताम्) & in 1787 a version of the Hitopadesa (हितोपदेश). But the genuine pioneer of Sanskrit studies in the west was Sir William Jones (1746—1794 A.D.) who

founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 & aroused a keen interest in the study of Indian antiquity by his indefatigable literary activity. In 1789 A. D. he published his translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala (অভিজান শনুলক্ষ্ম) which was followed by a translation of the code of Manu (মুহূর্মতিতা). In 1792 A. D. he published Kalidasa's Cycle of seasons (ঋতু-সংহার) He was followed by Henry J. Colebrook (1765-1837 A. D.), who first handled the Sanskrit language & literature on scientific principles by publishing many texts, translations & essays dealing with almost every branch of Sanskrit learning. Alexander Hamilton (1765-1824 A. D.), a Sanskrit scholar, who had been kept a prisoner in Paris on account of hostilities between the English & the French, taught Sanskrit to some French scholars & the German poet F. Schlegel who published his essay on the language & wisdom of the Indians in 1808 A. D. This essay produced a revolution in the science of language by leading to the foundation of the science of comparative philology by Franz Bopp in his 'conjugational system of Sanskrit in comparison with that of Greek, Latin, Persian, & German' (1816 A. D.). The Vedic study was, however, introduced by F. Rosen by his publication of the first eighth (প্রথম অংশ) of the Rigveda in 1838 A. D., when R. Roth (1821-95 A. D.) first published his epoch-making essay on the literature and history of the Veda in 1846, and since then the study of the Vedas has been prosecuted with such zeal that nearly

all the most valuable works of the Vedic period have been made accessible The detailed investigations of Sanskrit in every department are so numerous that an encyclopaedia covering the whole domain of Indo Aryan antiquity is now being published at Strasburg under the editorship of Dr Kiel Horn of Gottingen

Originality of Sanskrit Literature In spite of touching excellence in most of its branches Sanskrit literature has mainly achieved greatness in religion and philosophy The Indians are the only division of the Indo European family which has created a great national religion Hinduism (more properly Brahmanism) and a great world religion Buddhism Moreover the Indians developed independently several systems of philosophy But the primal importance of ancient Indian literature as a whole largely consists in its originality Sanskrit is a high language or class language or literary language in contrast to actual language of the people (popular dialect called श्रावक) According to Dr Winternitz Sanskrit can never be a dead language but rather a fettered language being checked through the rules of the grammarians

Chronology of Indian literature The Chronology of the history of Indian literature is shrouded in truly terrifying darkness But there is the evidence of language which proves that the hymns and songs, prayers and magic formulas of the Veda are indisputably the oldest which we possess of Indian literature It is also certain that Buddhism arose in India about 500 years before Christ and that it pre-supposes

the whole Vedic literature as practically finished. The Greeks and the Chinese also supply us with some information about the Indians. Nevertheless one must not believe that the historical sense is entirely lacking in the Indians. In India there has been historical writing and in any case we find accurately dated inscriptions in India which would hardly be the case if the Indians had no sense of history at all. The Indians did not keep facts and fiction strictly apart from each other. The corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and the Epigraphia Indica are our surest authorities on dates of Indian literary history.

Art of writing & Transmission of Indian literature. The history of Indian Literature does not begin with written literature, but only with orally transmitted texts which belong to the oldest periods of literary history. The oldest datable inscriptions found up to date are the edicts of king Asoka of the 3rd century B.C. But Palaeographic facts prove that writing was not a new invention as late as the time of Asoka and that it had had a long history behind it.

Antiquarians hold that writing was introduced into India about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotomia. Dr. Buhler has clearly shown that there were two classes of script (लिपि) known in ancient India, the one called Kharoshthi (खरोष्ठी) was employed in the country of Gandhara (E. Afganistan and N. Punjab) from the 4th century B.C. to 200 A.D., and the other called Brahmi (ब्राह्मी) was the

true national writing of India and all later Indian alphabets were descended from it The Kharoshthi script was written from the right to the left while the Brahmi was written from the left to the right In the inscriptions of the 3rd century B C two types the northern and the southern, may be distinguished in the Brahmi writing From the northern type is descended the group of scripts the most important being the Nagari (নাগরী) or মেৰামগৰী From the southern variety are descended five types of script the principal amongst them being the characters of the Canarese and the Telegu country

Materials of writing They were plates of stone brass copper, birch bark (ভূজবক্ত) palm leaf (তালপত্র) & Sachi leaf (শাঁচীপত্র) Paper was introduced by the mohomedan conquest In spite of predilection for oral teaching & learning many centuries ago the Indians began to collect manuscripts & to preserve them in libraries which they called সন্ধৰভৌভাগ্যা (or বাগড়েবীভাগ্যা) & which then existed & even now exist in numbers in monasteries and temples in palaces of princes and even in private houses of the wealthy

Indian Languages in their relation to Literature

The terms Indian literature and Sanskrit literature are not identical The history of Indian literature is the history of a literature which not only stretches across great periods of time and an enormous area but also one which is composed in many

languages. Indian languages belonging to the Indo-European family of languages have passed through three great phases of development, partly consecutive in time and partly also parallel. These are :—

I. Ancient Indian comprising

1. Ancient high Indian : (a) language of the oldest hymns and mantras, specially of the Sama Veda and the Rigveda. (b) Language of the later hymns and mantras, specially those of the other Vedas, besides of the mantras occurring only in the Brahmanas and the Kalpa sutras (‘श्लोक’, गृहस्त्र and धर्मस्त्र etc). 2 Sanskrit. (a) Ancient Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic prose works (excepting the mantras) and of Panini (b, Epic Sanskrit, the language of the popular national epics. c) Classical Sanskrit, the language of classical Sanskrit literature after Panini

11. Middle Indian languages and dialects comprising—1. Pali, the most important of the middle Indian literary languages. It was the language in which the oldest preserved collection of sacred writings of Buddhism was written. The Buddha talked to the people in Pali, the language of the people. It was then the language of the Magadha province

2. Besides Pali there exists also a Buddhist Sanskrit literature. These works, containing Sanskrit Prose, have also poetical gathas (songs in verses) composed in a middle Indian dialect called gatha dialect.

3. (a) The Jain Prakrit (called अर्धभाग्धी or अर्ध), the language of older works of the Jain canon (b)

4 The Jain Mahärashtri (ैॱनमाराष्ट्री), the language in which the commentaries, to the Jain canon and their non religious poetical works were written 4 Mahärashtri (माराष्ट्री) or the language of Mahärashtra which was the best form of Prakrit, found in songs and lyric parts of first class Sanskrit dramas 5 The सौरसेनी (Sauraseni) which is the prose of Sanskrit dramas was chiefly spoken by high born women It was the dialect of Mathura 6 Persons of lower classes spoke Nagadhi (नागधी) in Sanskrit dramas 7 पैसाची (Paisachi) was spoken in Sanskrit dramas by the members of the lowest grades of society Gunadhya's Brihat Katha was composed in Paisachi dialect 8 Apabhrañña (अपभ्रंश) was used in popular poetry, in Jain romances and occasionally in dramas It stood between the Prakrit and the modern Indian Vernaculars

111 The modern Indian languages and dialects comprising—(a) Bengali (b) Hindi (c) Urdu, &c &c.

Two periods of Sanskrit Literature The history of Sanskrit literature falls into two main periods The first is the Vedic period and the second is the classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period

The first period begins with prehistorical time and extends up to the period just preceding Panini In the former half of the Vedic age the character of its literature was creative and poetical, while the centre of culture extended as far as the territory of the Indus and its branches (गंगासिंह अस्सै) the modern Panjab (then called Brāhmaavarta अस्सावर्त) and in

the latter half, the literature was theologically speculative in matter and prosaic in form, while the centre of culture had shifted to the valley of the Ganges called Bramarshidesa and Madhyadesa (ब्रह्मशिदेश and मध्यादेश). Thus in the course of the Vedic age, Aryan civilisation had overspread the whole of Hindusthan (हिन्दुस्थान) proper (i.e. आर्यावर्त).

Classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period began with the final offshoots of Vedic period with Panini and his preceding grammarians and closed with the Mahamedan conquest after 1000 A.D During this epoch, Sanskrit culture was introduced into and overspread the Deccan. In course of these two periods taken together Indian literature attained noteworthy results in nearly every department

Sanskrit as a spoken language Older grammarians from Yaska (यास्क) long before the 5th century before Christ onwards speak of Sanskrit as a Bhasha (भाषा) or speech in distinction from Vedic. The remarks they make about it point to its being a spoken language. Patanjali (पतञ्जलि) refers to it as used in the world (लोके) and designates the words of his Sanskrit as current in the world. Panini himself in about the 5th century B.C. gives many rules which have no significance except in connection with living speech. Both Yaska (यास्क) and Panini (पाणिनि) mention the peculiarities of the Easterners and Northerners. Katyayana (कत्यायन) refers to the logical divergences and Patanjali specifies words occurring in single districts only. There is thus no doubt

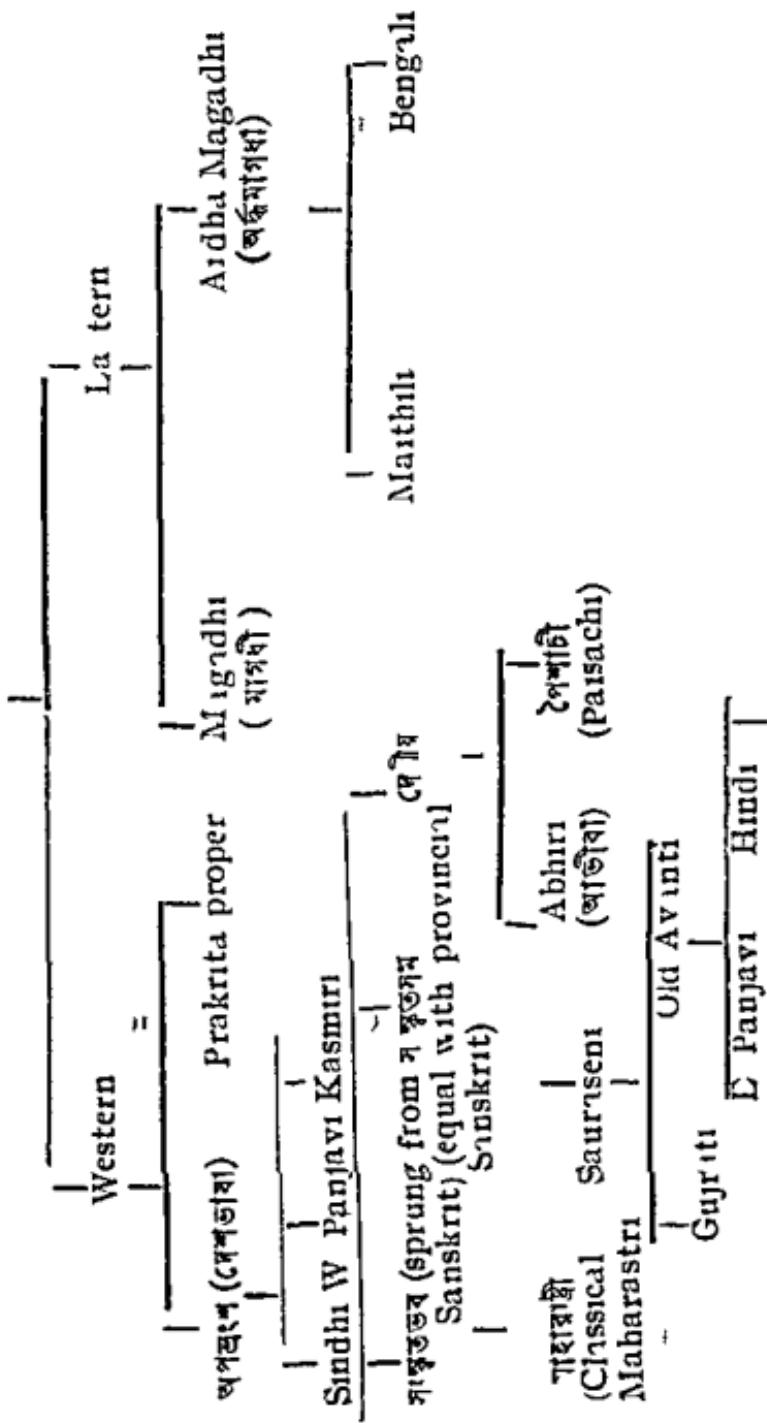
that till the second century B C Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called Aryavarta (अर्यवर्त) The Brahmins or the Sistas (फळे) certainly did speak Sanskrit and educated men of other communities spoke it for in the Nahabbashya (नहाभाष्य) we read of a head groom disputing with a grammarian about the etymology of the word (रथु) (charioteer) This agrees with the distribution of the dialects in Sanskrit dramas a distribution no doubt based on a tradition much older than the plays themselves Dr Winternitz says that Sanskrit is not a dead language even today To this very day it is the language in which Indian scholars converse on scientific questions In fact Sanskrit plays the same part in India as Latin in middle ages in Europe or as Hebrew with the Jews

The Prakrits The name Prakrit (असृत) denotes its origin from Sanskrit (अस्ते सृष्टां भव हैति) But authors on dialectics are of opinion that Prakrit means what comes from nature (असृत) at once i.e what people without special instruction can easily use and understand But according to grammarians and writers on poetics the term more specially denotes a number of distinctly artificial literary dialects which were not vernaculars Sir George Grierson classifies prakrit in three great stages (1) Primary Prakrits of which the Vedic language and its successor Sanskrit are literary forms (2) Secondary Prakrits represented in pali literature in dramas and in the apabhramas (अपभ्रंश) of grammarians (3) The modern

Vernaculars. From Asoka's inscriptions we can deduce the existence of three dialects, that of the east used in the metropolis as lingua franca of the Empire, that of the north west and of the west. The dramas of Aswaghosha of the first century A. D. supply us with the old Ardha magadhi, old Sauraseni and old Magadhi types of the Prakrit dialect. In Jain works we meet with Jain नाशाग्रन्थ and श्वेतानन्द. The बृहत्कथा (Brihat Katha) of Gunadhyā was composed in Paisachi Prakrit. of the different types of Prakrit Maharashtra held in pre-eminence by its use in dramas Sauraseni was markedly more closely akin to Sanskrit than Maharashtra. The नृत्यशास्त्र (Natya sastra) of Bharata enumerates other dramatic dialectics (विभावास), such as the Dakshinatya (दक्षिणात्मा), Avanti (आवन्ती), दाक्षी (Dakshī) or Takkī (varieties of Sauraseni) and Chandali (चांडाली), Sakari (शाकारी) which are species of Magadhi. According to Sir G. Grierson and Pichel almost all modern Vernaculars of our country have originated from the Apabhransa

Classification of Prakrit

Prakrit (the oldest being all



LECTURE 1.

Kavya Literature.

Sources of the Kavya. We do not, indeed, find an original historian of Sanskrit literature. It might be that the appearance of the great poets of the calibre of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha and others so eclipsed earlier efforts that their works, nay even their names, passed into oblivion. Again the absence of literary remains for centuries before and after the Christian era and foreign invasions, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas and the Yuchi, so deeply affected north west India that it gave an appearance of reason even to such a scholar as Professor Maxmuller to come to the conclusion that there was a comparative cessation of literary activity in India until the sixth century, which is now totally discredited. Besides the theory of a Prakrit period of Indian literature preceding the Sanskrit period is also to be discarded as it is founded on no evidence of value. The causes of the rise of Sanskrit literature are obvious and there was no need for writers in Prakrit to set an example. In fact the simplicity of the early epic gradually yielded to greater art. The Upanishads show us kings patronizing discussions between rival philosophers and rewarding richly the successful. They were indeed, no less eager to listen to-

panegyrics of themselves or their family and bestow guerdon not less lavishly. The gnomic utterances preserving some Vedic specimens in the Aitareya Brahmana (ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण) naturally shared in the cultivation of the lyric and the elaboration of verse reacted on prose style inducing writers to seek to reproduce in that medium some thing of elegance after which poets habitually strove. There was then no breach in literary continuity and in spite of the fact that so much has perished we have indisputable proofs of active cultivation of Sanskrit literature during the period from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The Ramayana, the earliest Sanskrit epic, with all later additions and interpolations as we have it affords us an illustration of the process of refinement which style was undergoing. But we can not but realize that even in its original form the poem must have shown a distinct tendency to conscious ornament.

The mere theme—the blending together of two distinct legends—the court intrigues of Ayodhya and Ramachandra's war on Ravana on account of the rape of Sita, is the work of an artist and the same trait is revealed in the conformity of the language and the delicate perfection of the metre, when compared with the simpler and less polished Mahabharata. Saint Valmiki and those who improved on him (probably 400—200 B.C.) are clearly the legitimate ancestors of the delicate artistic court epic.

Epics Two classes of epics Sanskrit epic falls into two main classes. They are popular national

epic and artistic ornate court epic The popular national epics comprise (a) Itihasa (ইতিহাস), (b) Akhyana (আখ্যান), (c) Purana (পুরাণ) and (d) Kavya (কাব্য) They were composed for sung and recited before the public national assemblies by rhapsodists who might themselves be poets extempore or might sing or recite poems of other poets. The great national epics were the Mahabharata the 18 puranas and the Ramayana. The national epic seems to have been cultivated more in those regions where the worship of Vishnu as the highest deity prevailed. The court epics were composed for and recited in the courts of princes before the courtiers who were erudite scholars. They were the works of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha & c Ananda-Vardhana (আনন্দবৰ্ধন) in his Dhwanyaloka (ধৰ্মালোক) has contrasted the object of the artistic court epic with that of the popular national epic. The latter according to him is content with narrating what has happened, while the former is essentially dependent on form The Ramayana, in his opinion, occupies an intermediate place and its formal merits are not slight The Ramayana is not given to erotic description and its tone is grave and serious Direct evidence of the production of secular Sanskrit literature before the second century B C is afforded by testimony of the Mahavhashya (মহাভাষ্য) of Patanjali. Again from Rajashekhar we know that the great grammarian Panini composed the epic জাম্ববতী বিজয় (Jamvavati Vijaya) He has been said to be the author of another epic পাতাল বিজয়. Pingala, the earliest writer on

prosody, refers in his *सून्धस सूत्र* (Sundhas sutra) to many verses of epic lyric and gnomic descriptions. In short, there was the existence of two streams of movement, the Sanskrit of the Brahmanical schools as summed up in Panini's grammar and the less formal language of the ruling class and the Brahmin in their entourage as shown in the popular epic.

The Mahabharata In its present form the Mahabharata consists of about 100 000 slokas (95826 actually found in the Bombay edition but according to Sauti's recitation 96826) and is the longest poem known to literary history. It is a conglomerate of epic and didactic matter divided into 18 books called parvan (पर्वन्) with a nineteenth the Hari Vamsa (हरिवंश), as a supplement (स्त्रिय) All these 18 books excepting the 8th and the last three are divided into subordinate books (प्रस्तुपर्वन्) each book being also cut up into chapters (अध्यायः).

The full table will show the number of chapters and stanzas in the 18 parvans as Sauti has given them in chapter I of the Adiparvan.

Names of Parvans	Number of chapters & slokas as recited by Sauti	
	chap	slokas
1 Adi Parvan	227+7	8884
2 Sabha Parvan	73+8	2511
3 Vana Parvan	269+45	11664
4 Virata Parvan	67+5	2067
5 Udyoga Parvan	186+12	6694
6 Bhishma Parvan	117+5	5884

7. Drona Parvan	170 + 31	8907
8 Karna Parvan	69 + 27	4964
9. Salya Parvan	59 + 6	3220
10. Sauptika Parvan	11	870
11. Stri parvan	27	775
12. Santi Parvan	365	14332
13. Anusasana Parvan	168	8000
14 Aswamedha Parvan	92	3320
15. Asramavasika Parvan	39	1506
16, Maushala Parvan	8	320
17 Mahaprasthanica Par.	3	320
18 Swargarohana Parvan	6	209
19 Harivamsha (খণ্ড)	3	16000

Three Stages of development of the Mahabharata : The Mahabharata in its present form is the second amplification of an originally much smaller work. Saint ফুরুশ্বর পারাশর্য ব্যাস (Vyasa), the author of the original work, taught it to his five pupils, one of whom was saint Vaisampayana (বৈশম্পায়ন) The latter saint recited the poem before king Janmejaya (জন্মেজয়) at the time of the Sarpa Satra (serpent sacrifice) performed by him Now, in the Mahabharata there are several questions asked by king Janmenjaya and the saint Vaisampayana gives their suitable replies. These questions and answers could not have formed part of the original epic composed by saint Vyasa We must presume that saint Vaisampayana or some one who listened to the recitation and the dialogue amplified the original work. Then again, this amplified Bharata was recited by Sauti Ugrasravas (i. e.

Ugrasravas son of Lomahirshana, a Suta by caste) before Saunaka in his twelve years sacrifice and there too qu stions were asked by Saunaka and answered by Sauti These could not have formed part of the original work nor of the amplified edition of Vaisampayana We must then presume that Sauti or some one else who listened to his recitation amplified the original work a second time We have further the statement that the worl had three beginnings Some believe that the Mahabharita begins with Uparichara others with Astika & whilst others with Manu ମୟାଦି ଭାଇତ କେନ୍ତେ ଆତିକାନ୍ତ ତଥାପରେ । ତ ପାପର୍ବତୀର୍ବାଦୁଁ ୬୨୦ ବିପ୍ଳା ମୂର୍ଖ ଅଧୀକ୍ଷତ । ଆଦିପକ୍ଷ । 1 52

The original work The original epic was a history and not a didactic work and the name given by saint Vyasa to his history was Jaya (ଜୟ) i.e triumph The first verse of invocation contains a mention of this name (ରତ୍ନୋଧୟୁମୁଦ୍ରାରାଜ୍ୟ) We have the same name again in the last Parvan also (ଜୟୋନାମେତିଦ୍ଵାରାରାଜ୍ୟ) Saint Vyasa composed his poem in three years working day and night It would be natural to expect that the saint Krishna Dwaipayana Parasarya Vya a would begin his work with an account of himself and the idea that Bharati really begins with ଉପରିଚାର (Uparichara) seems very justifiable In the chapter preceding the 63rd Chapter which begins with ଗ୍ରାଙ୍ଗୋପରିଚରୋନାମ or a praise of the Mahabharita and some facts about its composition are given by saint Vaisampayana which clearly shows that these 62 chapters in the Adiparvan are later

additions. This does not, of course, mean that the work subsequent to chapter 62 is in the words of saint Vyasa.

Second Edition :—The second edition of the text was that of saint Vaisampayana, Vyasa's own pupil, who was taught the work (वृत्ति) along with Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila and Vyasa's son Suka Deva. There is a statement in the Bharata itself that each one of these five pupils of the sage published a different edition of the Bharata. But Vaisampayana's version is the only one now preserved to us, though we have one doubtful Aswamedha Parvan (अश्वमेधपर्व) under the name of Jaimini. All the different versions of the Bharata appear to be extant in the days of Aswalayana (अश्वलायन) who has enumerated all these five rishis (seers) as भारतात्मकिः or editors of the Bharata. The extent of Vaisampayana's Bharata appears to have been 24000 verses, for there is a stanza in the Maha Bharata that the Bharata Sanhita was composed to that extent Vaisampayana would naturally begin his version with an account of King Janamejaya and the sarpa satra where he recited his poem and thus we have the second beginning assigned to the Mahabharata viz., with the Astikopakhyana. Vaisampayana transferred the name from Jaya to Bharata.

Third Edition The third edition of the epic was that of Sauti Ugra Sravas, son of Lomaharshana, who recasted and elaborated the work of Vaisampayana in about one hundred thousand stanzas.

(ଆନ୍ଦିପର୍କ 107) 'The third beginning of the epic was with the word manu. There is of course no stanza beginning with Manu in the Adiparvan but the commentator takes it as identical with Vaivaswata (ଦୈତ୍ୟତ ଆନ୍ଦିପର୍କ 1) This edition has come down to us nearly in the form which Sauti gave to it. The present Maha Bharata contains about one thousand stanzas less than the number given by Sauti (36 836) though additional stanzas and chapters are found here and there. Sauti gave the work the name of Mahabharata and converted it from a history to a dharma sastra. Bharata and Mahabharata are names separately mentioned by Aswalyana.

Division of the epic Saint Vyasa's original historical work Jaya (triumph) was divided into parvans and adhyayas but it is impossible to enumerate their exact number. Saint Vaisampayana divided his edition of the epic (which he called Bharata) into 100 parvans. It was he who added the Harivamsa (ହରିବନ୍ଦ) to the original work. Hence the Harivamsa is called a ଖରିପର୍କ or supplementary work. Sauti adopted a new division for his bulky work ମହାବରତ୍ୟାଙ୍କୁ called Mahabharata and divided it into 18 parvans with a nineteenth including the Harivamsa which had already been incorporated into his Bharata by saint Vaisampayana. The Gita (ଭଗବତ୍ପୀଠୀ) too had been incorporated into the Maha bharata long after.

Date of the Mahabharata The present edition of the Mahabharata can not be placed earlier

than 450 B. C, & later than 300 B. C. The earliest date assigned to the epic Jaya is that fixed by Prof. Modaka who finds that the vernal equinox at the time of the great Kurukshetra war was in Punarvasu (পুনর্বসু) and hence about 7000 years must have elapsed since then. Some astronomers following Barahamihira believe that the great war took place in 2604 B C. But European scholars on the authority of a sloka in the Vishnupurana hold that the great war took place about 1500 B. C. The orthodox Indian opinion, however, is that the war took place in 3101 B C., calculating on the basis of the generally accepted belief in India that in 1399 A. D. five thousand years had elapsed since the beginning of the Kaliage. The great Kurukshetra war is held amongst the Aryans of India as synchronous with the beginning of the Kaliage.

Abstract of the Mahabharata. মেমেন্দ্রব্যাস দাস composed Bharata manjari (ভাৰত মঞ্জৰী) in the 11th-century in Kashmir and this is the oldest abstract of the Mahabharata.

Commentators of the Mahabharata. They are (1) Arjuna Misra (অজুন মিশ্র), Sivajna narayana (সুর্বজ্ঞন নারায়ণ) and Nilakantha (নীলকণ্ঠ)

Khila Hari Vamsa : It is concerned with Krishna's family. It contains more than 16000 slokas and is divided into three sections. The first Hari-vamsa Parva describes the history of Krishna's ancestors down to the time of Vishnu's incarnation in him. The second Vishnuparva gives an account of

Krishna's exploits The third Bhavishya Purva treats of the future corruptions of the Kali age

What is the Mahabharata ? It is not only an epic and a poem, nor is it one poetic production at all but it is rather a whole literature. Mahabharata means the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas who are mentioned in the Rigveda as a warlike tribe and in the Brahmanas Bharata son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, is regarded as the ancestor of the Royal race of the Bharatas. The home of the Bharatas was in the country of the upper Ganges and the Jumna. From Kuru, an illustrious descendant of Bharata the land they lived in was called Kuru Kshetra while they themselves were called Kauravas. A family feud in the royal house of the Kauravas led to a bloody war of 18 days a truly internecine struggle in which the ancient race of the Kurus was almost entirely ruined. The history of this bloody war of 18 days was told in the epic Jaya (triumph) by saint Vyasa and gradually recasted and enlarged by saint Vaisampayana in Bharata first and then by Sauti Ugrasravas in Mahabharata. Similarly in Homer's Iliad and in the Nibelungen song the tragedy of a terrible war of annihilation forms the actual subject of the heroic poem.

We find traces of epic poetry in vedic literature in the dialogue hymns of the Rigveda as well as in the akhyanas itihasas and Puranas of the Brahmanas the recital of such narrative poems forming a part of the religious ceremonies at the sacrificial and domes-

tic festivals. There were not only single ballads (আখ্যানs, ইতিহাস) but also cycles of ballads. There were professional story-tellers (ইতিহাসিক, পৌরাণিক) in very ancient times. Besides, there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives আখ্যান, ইতিহাস, পূরাণ and গাথা, forming as it were literary public property which was drawn upon by the Buddhists and the Jains as well as by the epic poets. Songs in praise of men (গাথা নৰাশঃসো) are often mentioned beside the ইতিহাস and the পূরাণ and are the direct precursors of the actual heroic epic itself. The authors reciters and preservers of heroic poetry were the bards (usually of the Suta caste) who generally lived at the royal court and recited or sang their songs at great feasts in order to proclaim the glory of princes. They often went forth into the field of battle in order to be able to sing of the heroic deeds of warriors. There were also travelling singers called Kusilavas (কুশীলব) who memorised the songs and publicly sang them to the accompaniment of the lute and circulated the heroic songs among the people. It was the পুরোহিতs (court-priests) who like the স্তুতis came more in contact with epic poetry. It was this less learned class of priests which later on furnished temple priests at famous holy places. The latest edition of the Mahabharata is a compendium of warlike heroic songs, of pious priestly poetry with dissertations upon philosophy, religion and law and mild ascetic poetry full of edifying wisdom & overflowing love towards man and beast. Thus the Mahabharata is an epic, a work of

poetic art (काव्य) a manual of morality (वैतिशास्त्र) law (धृति) and philosophy (दर्शन) supported by the oldest tradition and furnished with uncontested authority In short the इतिहास called ऋग्य of saint ऋषिदेवपायन पारामर्थ व्यास has been in course of time first changed to भारत by saint वैशम्पायन and then into न धर्मशास्त्र by सौति उपाधेय

Age and History of the Mrhabharata J Dahlmann proves that the Mahabharata is one unified work composed by one poet in pre Buddhist times both as an epic and a law book Sylvan Levi explains the Mahabharata as a deliberate composition organically and artistically spread around a central fact and inspired by a dominant sentiment which penetrates and permeates it He compares the Mahabharata with the Vinaya (विनाय) the code of discipline of the मूलसर्वातिथादिन् (Mulasarvastidin) Buddhists and is of opinion that the whole great epic is based on nothing but a code of Kshatriya discipline as practised by the Bhagavatas But according to Dr M Winteritz any one who reads the whole of the Mahabharata is bound to admit that the present day text of the epic contains not only much that is diverse in content but also much that is diverse in value The very opening sections of the Mahabharata themselves give clear indications that the epic had not always its present form and extent The tables of contents of the epic tell us plainly it is not the work of one single author or of one time A Holtzman assumes that an ancient heroic poem of the kauravas existed which was the original Mahabharata that it under-

went a revision with a tendency in favour of the Pandavas and that it was then on several consecutive occasions—first by the Buddhists, then by the Brahmans—revised with a tendency. The second Purana-like revision must have taken place about 900 1100 A.D, after which followed, a few centuries later, the definite establishment and completion of the text

Summary of the gradual growth of the contents of the Mahabharata: Single myths, legends and poems in the Mahabharata are Vedic. The historical epic Jaya and Bharata and the धर्मशास्त्र महाभारत had no existence in the Vedic period Moral narratives and sayings in the महाभारत belong to ascetic poetry. An epic महाभारत existed bet 6th and 4th centuries B. C, but not known in the land of Buddhism. Bet 4th century Bc and 4th century A.D, the epic Mahabharata transformed into the present धर्मशास्त्र महाभारत one date of the महाभारत does not exist, the date of every part is to be ascertained on its own account

The Puranas and their position in Indian literature: Closely connected with the Mahabharata is a distinct class of eighteen epic works, didactic in character and sectarian in purpose, going by the name of Purana, all attributed to saint Vyasa The term पुराण, in the Brahmanas, denotes cosmogonic enquiries generally and in the Mahabharata it means ancient legendary lore, implying didactic as well as narrative matter and pointing to an old collection.

of epic stories It has been very clearly defined in the Vishnupurana thus শর্ণ্ক প্রতিমৰ্ণ এবং ইতুরণিচাৰী বাণীযুক্তবিভিন্নকৈব পুরাণং পুরাণমণ্ডু। The Puranas are 18 in number Formerly they formed one of the 14 different branches of study for one's accomplishment as a scholar (অধীক্ষিত বেদান্তবাদী মৌলাসান্ধুবিদ্ব। পুরাণং ধৰ্মপুঁজ বিদ্য দ্বেষান্তভূমণ।) But we do not get them all in their original form now The modern redactions of the Puranas all appear to be later than the Mahabharata Some of them in giving the history Magadha come down to Chandra Gupta and Asoka nay as far as the Andhra monarchs who ruled in the Deccan for some centuries after christ

Orthodox classification of the Puranas

(1) Those advocating the superiority of Brahman (the creator) of the quality of passion (i e ক্ষেত্র) leading to the attainment of heaven

- (a) Brahmanda Purana (ব্রহ্মাণ্ড পুরাণ)
- (b) Brahma Vaibarta Purana (ব্রহ্ম বৈবর্ত পুরাণ)
- (c) Markandeya Purana (মার্কণ্ডেয় পুরাণ)
- (d) Bhavishya Purana (ভবিষ্য পুরাণ)
- (e) Yamana Purana (যামন পুরাণ)
- (f) Brahma Purana (ব্রহ্ম পুরাণ) or Adipurana (i e the first Purana ,

(2) Those advocating the superiority of Vishnu (the preserver) and of the quality of goodness (i e শান্তি) leading to salvation —

- (a) Vishnu Purana (বিষ্ণু পুরাণ)
- (b) Naradiya Purana (নারাদীয় পুরাণ)
- (c) Bhagavata Purana (ভাগবত পুরাণ)

(d) Garuda Purana (गरुड पुराण)

(e) Padma Purana (पद्म पुराण)

(f) Varaha Purana (वराह पुराण)

(3) Those advocating the superiority of Siva (the destroyer) of the quality of darkness (तमः) leading to death.

(a) Matsya Purana (मत्स्य पुराण)

(b) Kurma Purana (कुरुम पुराण)

(c) Linga Purana (लिङ पुराण)

(d) Vayu Purana (वायु पुराण) or Siva Purana (शिव पुराण)

(e) Skanda Purana (शङ्क विग्रह)

(f) Agni Purana (अग्नि पुराण)

The Puranas are said to consist of 400,000 slokas in all. The above orthodox classification of the Puranas is quite arbitrary. The Garuda and the Agni Puranas practically constitute abstracts of the Mahabharata and Harivamsa. The Vayu Purana coincides in part with the Mahabharata, but it is more closely connected with the Harivamsa. The Matsya Purana is also intimately connected with the same. The वृत्तिशास्त्र is the least sectarian of the Puranas and the Vishnu Purana most closely corresponds to the definition of the Puranas. In fact, with the growth of sectarianism, the Puranas expanded according to the cult they advocated.

Besides the 18 Puranas, there is also an equal number of Upa-Puranas (उपपुराण) or secondary Puranas, in which the epic matter has become entirely subordinate to the ritual elements.

Survey of Purana literature —The Puranas belong to the Religious literature. Indeed the Mahabharata for the greater part and the Harivamsa almost entirely are nothing other than Puranas and even the later books and sections of the Ramayana partake of the character of Puranas. The Puranas indeed reach back to great antiquity and are rooted in Vedic literature. The word Purana originally meant ग्रन्थम् आथानम् (old narrative). It is found in connection with itihasa (इतिहास) in Brahmanas and Upanishads. In Atharva Veda beside the four Vedas the Purana is also enumerated. According to Gautama Dharmi Sutra the king is to take as his authorities on the administration of justice the Vedas the law books the Vedangas and the Puranas. The Puranas we have now are only recasts of older works of the same species viz of works of religious didactic contents in which were collected ancient traditions of creation deeds of the Gods heroes and saints and ancient ancestors of human race the beginnings of famous royal families and so on. The last edition of the Mahabharata not only calls itself a purana but also begins exactly as the Purana texts usually begin, Ugrasravas, son of the suta Lomaharshana appearing as narrator. According to Dr Winternitz it cannot be that all the Puranas originated in a single original Purana as a sumed by Pargiter and others.

The five characteristics (पञ्चमन्) of the Purana viz (1) creation (नर्ग) (2) recreation or the periodical

annihilation and renewal of the worlds (প্রতিমৃগ)
 (3) genealogy or genealogy of the gods and sages-
 (বংশ), (4) The Manu-periods of time or the great
 periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor-
 of the human race (মধুরূপি) and (5) history of the
 dynasties or the early and later dynasties whose
 origin is traced back to the sun (i.e, the solar dynasty)
 and the Moon (i.e. lunar dynasty) (বংশামুচ্চরিত) form
 only partly the contents of the Puranas handed down-
 to us, some of them even containing much more than
 what is included in the five characteristics, while
 others scarcely touching upon these subjects, but
 dealing with different things Sectarianism or de-
 votion to the cult of some god or other of Brahman,
 Vishnu or Siva, is specially significant of almost all
 the Puranas we have now. In most of them there-
 are also considerable sections on the rights and duties
 of the castes and of the asramas, on the general
 Brahmanical rites &c The Puranas are ascribed
 to saint Vyasa who is said to have lived in the
 beginning of the Kaliyuga (কলিযুগ) contemporaneously
 with the heroes of the Kurukshetra war. In
 several of the Puranas, however, the royal dynasties
 of the past are followed by lists of the kings of the
 future in the form of prophecies In the list of the
 future kings we find mention of the dynasties of
 Sisunagas (শিশুনাগ), Nandas, Mauryas (মৌর্য), Sungas,
 Andhras and Guptas which are well known in
 history. Amongst the Sisunagas are Bimbisara and
 Ajata Satru who were contemporaries of Mahavira

(the founder of Jainism) and Gautama Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) 6th to 5th century B C , and with the Maurya monarch Chantraputra who came to the throne in 322 Bc we emerge into clear daylight, of Indian history According to V A Smith the Vishnupurana is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty, the Matsya purana as regards the Andhra dynasty and the Vayu purana as regards the gupta monarch chandra Gupta I At the end of the list of future kings these puranas enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Sudras and Mlechchhas) such as the Abhiras the Gardabhas the Sakas the Yavanas the Tusharas the Hunas &c All these lead us to conclude that the Puranas came into being before the 7th century A D , for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as Harsha occur in the list of kings The Buddhist Mahayana text Lalitavistara (ललितविश्वास) not only calls itself a purana but really it has much in common with the Puranas The शक्तिपूजाकृति the कार्त्तवृष्ण and even some passages of the वृत्तिग्रन्थ remind us of the sectarian Puranas The शक्तिपूजाकृति Jains also composed 10 uranas from the 7th century onwards The opinion of western scholars that our Puranas belong to the latest productions of Sanskrit literature is quite untenable for the poet Banabhatta (about 625 A D) the Mimansaphilosopher Kumarili Bhutta (about 750 A D) and Sankaracharya (9th century) speak of the Puranas as old sources of sacred law The Upapuranas are no

doubt works originated in the last thousand years. The erroneous opinion about the age of the Puranas may easily be removed by referring to their sectarianism in vaishnavism, Saivism and Brahmanavatva which go back to prechristian and perhaps to pre-Buddhistic times.

— — —

TANTRA LITERATURE.

(*Sanhita, Agama, & Nigama.*)

The tantra (तन्त्र) or the cult of the Saktis in the form of dialogue between Lord Siva and the goddess Parvati and occasional use of mystic syllables and formulas and prayers (तात्त्व), diagrams (वृत्तिः), special position of the fingers and movements of the hands (शृङ्खिला) and placing the fingers and palm of the right hand on various parts of the body at the time of recitation of the mantras (नामादिः) has been of high influence in Bengal, Assam and Nepal generally for a long time. The tantras appear to us in the forms of agama (अगम), nigama (निगम) or Sanhita (संहिता) They are not positively hostile to the Veda, but they tell us plainly that the precepts of the Veda being too difficult for the Kali age an easier cult and an easier doctrine have been revealed in them. Again the tantras are accessible not only to the twice born.

(रिक्षे ते the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas) alone but to Sudras and women as well. Again they contain secret doctrines which can only be obtained from the guru (गुरु) after a ceremonial initiation (निष्ठा) and which cannot be communicated to any person who is not initiated. A complete tantra (संहिता) consists of four parts viz knowledge (ज्ञान) meditation and concentration (योग), action (क्रिया) and conduct consisting of rites and festivals (चर्चा). The tantras are generally in the form of dialogues between Lord Siva and Parvati. They are called Agamas (आगम) when the goddess Parvati asks questions as a pupil and Lord Siva replies like the teacher and when the goddess is the teacher and answers Lord Siva's questions they are called (निगम) Nigamas. The Mahanirvana tantra (महानिर्वाण तन्त्र) is the best of all the nigamas. The final goal is moksha or mahanirvana or final salvation. The path of salvation can only be found through the tantras for the Veda Smritis the puranas and the itihasas were the sacred books of the golden (धनुष) silver (त्रितीय) and copper (धातुर चर्चा) of world's existence where as the tantras were revealed by Lord Siva for the welfare of humanity for the iron age (कलियुग). The puranas maintain a certain connection with epic poetry and are repertory of Indian legend poetry while the tantras bear the stamp of purely theological works teaching the technicalities of the cult of the sects together with their metaphysical and mystic principles. In short the sahitas may fairly be called the sacred books of the Vaishnava

vas, the Agamas those of the Saivas and the nigamas those of the Saktas. The word tantra is generally used to mean the three. It was Sir John Woodroffe, under the name of Arthur Avalon, who by a series of essays and publications of the most important tantra-texts has enabled us to form a just judgment of its religion and literature. The agamas belong to the Saivas and they are 28 in number. The Sanhitas belong to the Vishnuite Pancharatra sect. There are 108 Pancharatra Sanhitas enumerated in the list. one of the earlier of these Sanhitas is the Isvara-Sanhita quoted by Ramanuja's preceptor Yamunacharya who died in about 1040 A. D. Ramanuja himself quotes the Paushkara, Parama and Sattwata Sanhitas. Narada Pancharatra with the Brihad Brahma Sanhita and Gnanamritasara (ଜାନମୃତାର) Sanhita is of later date. The tantras had their original home in Bengal whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal and even beyond India to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism. The **ମହାନିର୍ବାଣଚନ୍ଦ୍ର** is the most popular treatise on Saktism. The final goal of all Indian sects and systems of religion is moksha or salvation i.e. becoming one with the deity in maha-nirvana, the great extinction. The perfect saint (the କୌଣ୍ଠିତାତ୍ମିକ) who sees everything in the Brahman and the Brahman in everything, attains this state even in this life and is released though living (ଜୀବନ୍ଧୁତା) The path of salvation can be found through the tantras for the Vedas, the smritis, the Puranas and the itihasas were the sacred works of bygone ages of

the world's existence and the tantras were revealed by Siva for the welfare of humanity for the kali age. The Mahanirvana tantra also teaches a philosophy not different from the orthodox systems of the Vedanta and the Sankhya. The puranas nor the tantras make enjoyable reading as they are works of inferior writers and are often written in barbarous and ungrammatical Sanskrit. But they cannot be passed by in silence for these writings are the spiritual food of millions of Indians.

The Ramayana Both a popular Epic and an ornate poem. In its present form the Ramayana consists of about 24000 slokas and is divided into seven books (सप्तकाण). The Kashmirian poet Kshemendra Vyasadisri (क्षेमेन्द्र व्यासदिस्री) made a poetical abstract of the Ramayana called Ramayana kitha manjari (रामायण कथा मञ्जरी) in the 11th century. Bhojrajya (भोजराज) of Dhūri composed another epitome called Champus Ramayana (चम्पु रामायण) about the same time. The Ramayana differs from the Mahabharata in more respects than one. It is much shorter and of much greater uniformity. While the Mahabharata in its present form can scarcely be called an actual epic, the Ramayana even in the form in which we have it is still a fairly unified heroic poem. The authorship of the Ramayana is attributed to saint Valmiki and we cannot have any reason to doubt that a poet of this name really lived and first shaped the ballads, which were scattered in the mouths of the bards, into the form of a unified poem. Saint Valmiki is called the

first kavi (i. e. first author of artificial ornate poetry), and the Ramayana is called the first artistic ornate poem (विशेषा). Indeed we find the first beginning of greater attachment to the forms than to the matter and contents and the use of figures of speech and other peculiarities of the classical ornate poetry in the Ramayana. While we find in the Mahabharata a mixture of popular, national epic and theological didactic poetry (प्राची), the Ramayana is a work that is both a popular, national epic and an artistical classical ornate poem. In fact it is a true, popular epic like the Mahabharata, as it is, like the Mahabharata, the property of the whole Indian people. Rama-chandra, the hero of the Ramayana was later made into an incarnation of the God Vishnu. It is the very popularity of the Ramayana, like that of the Mahabharata, which was a high reason of its appearing to us in the present form of different interpolations.

Valmiki's original and interpolations: Valmiki's Ramayana originally consisted of five books (II—VI). Book VII (उत्तरायण) was undoubtedly added later to the work. It has also been recognised that the whole of book I (आदिकाण) can not have belonged to the original work of saint Valmiki. Not only there are numerous internal contradictions in the book, but the language and style, too, stand out as inferior to those of books II—VI. Moreover, in the genuine parts of the poem, there is never any reference to the events in Book I, in fact there are details in this book

which directly contradict the statements of later books Only in books I and VII is Ramachandra considered as a divine being an incarnation of Vishnu In books II—VI, apart from a few passages which are interpolated (such as the marriage of Lakshmana &c) he is always only a mortal hero where mythology enters into the genuine parts of the poem it is not Vishnu but Indra who is in the Veda is regarded as the highest god It is characteristic of books I and VII that the thread of the narrative is frequently interrupted There are only very few passages in books II—VI (e g at the beginning of book III) where this kind of interruption occurs also The Ramayana was orally transmitted for a long time through centuries in the circles of travelling singers or minstrels like the brothers Kusa and Lava who regarded the epic as their own property, with which they took every kind of liberty The Ramayana like the Mahabharata received a more or less definite form when it was written down There are now three different recensions of the Ramayana They are the Bombay recension the Bengal recension and the North western recension But none of these recensions gives us an original text of the Ramayana There is a poetical abstract of the Ramayana in the Bana purva (বনপর্ব) of the Mahabharata which is quite unaware of the Uttara Kanda (উত্তরকাণ্ড), aye nothing of Sita's exile or Lakshmana's marriage Besides the current edition of the Ramayan 'a begins with an account of saint

Narada's version of Ramachandra's life and doings which supplied saint Valmiki with all the materials of his poem. Narada's account tells us plainly that the Ikshwaku-monarch Ramachandra was contemporary of saint Valmiki and in it there is no mention of Lakshmana's marriage, nor of Sita's exile. The exaggerated accounts of the different interpolations are not found there.

Origin of the Ramayana. The Ramayana arose in Kosala, the country ruled by the Ikshwakus (ଇକ୍ଷ୍ୱକୁ) in Ayodhya (ଆୟୋଧ୍ୟା) The hermitage of the poet also lay on the bank of the Tamasa (Tons) a small tributary of the Ganges. From canto I of the adikanda we distinctly know that saint Valmiki, the poet, was very eager to be acquainted with the history of an ideal monarch to be able to compose a poem and that he was told of the Ikshwaku monarch, Ramachandra, his contemporary sovereign of Ayodhya, by saint Narada who was then his guest. Then he composed the Ramayana from the materials supplied by the sage. The poem was recited by his pupils Kusa and Lava who sang them every where and before his majesty Ramachandra himself. It was the first epic after the Vedas.

The age of the Ramayana. The Ramayana even in its present form is older than the Mahabharata. The Ramayana being so much shorter, required a shorter time for its gradual growth than the Mahabharata. A few scholars have declared the Ramayana to be the earlier of the two epics, because

the burning of widows does not occur in it whilst it is mentioned in the Mahabharata Jacobi says that the Mahabharata only became an epic under the influence of the poetic art of Valmiki The battle scenes of the Mahabharata read quite differently from those described in the Ramayana Those in the Mahabharata give the impression that the poet belonged to a rough race of warriors and had himself seen bloody battle fields while those in the Ramayana sound rather as though a story teller is relating battles of which his only source of information is the reports he has heard There is not that embittered hatred that fierce resentment between Ramachandra and Ravana Lakshmana and Indrajit as in the Mahabharata when we read of the battles bet Arjuna and Karna or Bhima and Duryodhan Sita of the Ramayana when stolen, abducted and persecuted by Ravana or when rejected by Ramachandra always maintains a certain calmness and meekness in her accusations and lamentations, and in her speeches there is not a trace of the wild passion which we so often find in Draupadi of the Mahabharata Kunti and Gandhari too are true hero-mothers of a warlike race while Kausalya and Kaikayi can rather be compared with the stereotyped queens of classical Dramas This shows that the Mahabharata belongs to a ruder more warlike age while the Ramayana shows traces of a more refined civilisation The Mahabharata belongs to the west of India and the Ramayana to the East

Dr. Winternitz concludes that the original Rama-yana was composed by saint Valmiki on the basis of ancient ballads, that there can be no question of Greek influence in the Rāmayana and that the genuine Rāmayana betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks. There are no obvious traces of Buddhism to be seen in the Rāmayana and that the ancient Buddhist texts of the Tripitaka betray no knowledge of the Rāmayana, but contain traces of ballads in which the Rāma-legend was sung. The original Rāmayana was completed at a time when the epic kernal of the Mahabharata has not yet been thought of. The Rāmayana must have been generally known as an old work long before the Mahabharata assumed a coherent shape. The legend of Rama is found in a some what altered form in one of the Pali birth-stories (দশরথজাতক). This version confines itself to the first part of Rama's adventures, his sojourn in the forest. There is an indication that the expedition to Lanka was also known to the author of the Jataka. Again the political conditions described in the Rāmayana indicate the patriarchal rule of kings possessing only a small territory and never point to the existence of more complex states as in the Mahabharata.

Two parts of Rāmayana. The first part describes the events in the court of king Dasaratha at Ayodhya and their consequences. If the epic says Prof. Macdonnel, ended with the return of Rama's brother Bharata to the capital after the old king's death it might pass for a historical saga. The second part of

(i e the expedition to Lanka) according to him being based on a foundation of myths is full of the marvellous and the fantastic

Unfortunately no oriental scholar will agree with Prof Macdonnel in his queer theory. With all his erudition this view is very unhappy. Those whom he calls monsters and goblins are the aborigines of the soil who had been driven to the hills and the forests of the Deccan by gradual diffusion of Aryan civilization. The Vedas too speak of the aborigines as monkeys bears tigers &c from their mode of living in the caves and hollows of trees. Prof Mac also makes this mistake from his inability in identifying Lanka with some modern island in the Indian ocean. Infact if we trace Rāmāchandra's way to Lanka we find it located somewhere near modern Australia. The Lanka expedition was not a myth. Rāvana the lord of Lanka was born of an Aryan father (sage विश्वसु son of यज्ञो) one of the ancient patriarchs) and a non Aryan mother (नैकशी or लैकशी) He was educated as a Brahman but he inherited the evil propensities of his mother's relatives. He had two brothers and many sons amongst whom Meghanada or Indrajit was the eldest. He conquered as far as the divine regions of the Meru (Altai regions) He carried away Sita wife of Rāmāchandra on an aeroplane which he had carried off from his step brother Kubera lord of the Yaksha tribes Rāma chandra with the help of the non aryān people of the Kishkindha valley who were then called Banaras and

Rikshas, proceeded as far as the sea-coast and by erection of a bridge reached Lanka, killed Ravana and his entire family through the help of Ravana's youngest brother Vibhishana and rescued Sita. He came to Ayodhya on the aerial car called Pushpaka with which he was supplied by Vibhishana who was crowned king of Lanka after the destruction of his brothers and nephews. Amongst the allies of Ramachandra, Sugriva, Hanuman, Angada, Nala, and Jam-bhavan, were of mixed origin like Ravana. There can not be anything incredible in the account. Researches show that the cape Kamarin was not the southernmost point of India, but there was a long promontory running northeast from the southernmost point of India which enabled Ramachandra and his party to advance as far as the seacoast just opposite the gold-bound island of Lanka. He crossed the sea and reached Lanka on erection of a bridge by his non-aryan engineer Nala.

Views of different European scholars on the second part of the Ramayana : (1) Prof. Lassen holds that it was intended to represent allegorically the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the south. (2) Dr. Weber says that the Ramayana was meant to account for the spread of Aryan culture to the south and Ceylon. But, says Prof. Mac. this form of the allegorical theory lacks any confirmation from the statement of the epic itself, for Rama's expedition is nowhere represented as producing any change or improvement in the civilisation of the

south The poet appears to know nothing about the Deccan beyond the fact that Brahmin hermitages are to be found there otherwise it is a region of the monsters and fabulous beings Hence the Professor says that there is much more probability in the opinion of Jacobi that the Ramayana contains no allegory at all but it is based on an Indian mythology The foundation of Part II says the Professor would thus be a celestial myth of the *veda* transformed into a narration of earthly adventures Sita is Vedic furrow personified who is invoked in the Rigveda as a goddess In यजुर्वेद she appears again as a genius of the ploughed field and is called wife of Indra or वर्षना the rain god Rama is Indra and his conflict with Ravana the chief of the demons would represent the Indra Vritra myth of the Rigveda This is confirmed by the name of Ravana's son being Indrajit or Indra Satru an epithet applied to Vritra Ravana's most notoriousfeat the rape of Sita has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra Hanuman (वानर) the foremost of Rama's allies in the recovery of Sita is described as flying 100 of leagues through the air to find Sita It is a reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the maruts in his conflict with Vritra and Indra's ambassador Sarama probably refers to the वानरो मरमा who consoles Sita in her captivity in the Asoka banika at Lanka

LECTURE 2.

Kavya, or ornate artistical court epic.

Professor Maxmuller's theory of renaissance of Sanskrit — The Indians, on account of the incursions of the Sakas and other foreigners, ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A. D. In fact Sanskrit remained asleep as it were for about six centuries from the rise of Buddhism in the 4th century B.C. to the establishment of the Gupta Empire in the 3rd century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century A.D., the reign of King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kalidasa (1) and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian court-Poetry. This renaissance theory of Prof. Maxmuller is based on Dr. Fergusson's ingenious chronological hypothesis that a supposed King Vikramaditya of Ujjain having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory, founded the Vikrama era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back 600 years to 57 B.C.

Refutation of the Renaissance theory Epi-

(1) ধৰ্ম গ্রিঃ শগণকোহ্মণিংহশঙ্কু-বেতালভট্ট-ঘটকপূর্ণ-
কালিদাসাঃ ।
খ্যাতো বৰাহমিহিরো নৃপতেঃ সভায়ঃ রঞ্জানি বৈ বৰকুচি-
ন্ব বিক্রমশু ॥
জ্যোতির্বিদাভৱণম् attributed to Kalidasa.

graphical researches of Dr Fleet have destroyed Dr Ferguson's hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. (called Samvat era) far from having been founded in 544 A.D. had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Malavera (मालवीय) It further appears that no Sakas (Scythians) could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century A.D. for that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago. Again it turns out that though other foreign conquerors the Hunas were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the 5th century and that they were driven out not by विष्णुवर्द्धन but by a king of the name of यशोद्धर्मविष्णुवर्द्धन (Yasodharmi Vishnu Vardhana). Thus the great king Vikramaditya vanishes from the historical ground of the sixth century into the realm of myth.

Again from the Maha Bhashya of Patanjali and the श्लोक of Pingali we know that Kavya (काव्य) flourished in their days and must have been developed before the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover the great epic (महाकाव्य) Buddhacharita (बुद्धचरित) of Aswaghosha who was contemporary of king Kanishka (कनिष्ठा) of the first century A.D. corroborates that anshrit was not asleep but quite awake then. The लील (panegyrics) of the Gupta period are of great importance here — (a) The poet Harisenas (हरिसेना) panegyric on his royal patron Samudra Gupta (समुद्रगुप्त) inscribed on a pillar at

Allahabad in the second half of the 4th century shows a mastery of style rivalling that of Kalidasa and Dandin. (b) The minister Virasena's (वीरसेन) inscription on his royal master Chandra Gupta II shows unmistakably that the Vaidarbhi (वैदर्भीराति) style of composition was fully developed by 300 A. D, (c) Vatsa Bhatti (व-भट्टि) wrote an inscription in 473 AD in commemoration of a temple consecrated to the Sun at Dasapura (mod Mandassar) A careful study of this inscription clearly shows that a rich Kavya (काव्य) literature existed in the 5th century A.D (d) Two important prose inscriptions, (in Kavya form) one from Girnar under the महाकृत्प ऋष्टदग्नि and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the second century AD, show that a Prose Kavya literary style existed so far back as 200 AD All these evidences not only prove that the Sanskrit Kavya literature flourished before the christian era but show incontrovertibly that it did not go to sleep but continued to be cultivated throughout the succeeding centuries But it must be admitted that the real history of the Kavya or artistic ornate court epic does not begin till the first half of the 7th century A. D with the reign of king Harsha Vardhana of Sthaneswar (स्थानेश्वर) and Kanyakubja (605—648 A. D). for the date of no Kavya before this land mark has as yet been fixed with certainty

Principal artistic ornate court poets and a treatise on Ars Amoris. 1. कामसूत्र (Kamasutra) of Vatsyayana (वात्स्यायन) is of uncertain date,

probably older than Kalidasi so Vatsayana we owe a vivid conception of the Indian parallel to the man about town (नायक) whose existence was due to the growing elaboration of Indian life and whose interest the poet was anxious to propitiate. We find in it how the denizen of the town, (नायक) compelled by adverse fortune to vegetate in the country, seeks to find congenial society with which to continue the pleasures of his city life. His home boasts all the luxury of the age, soft couches a summer house in a park and seats strewn with flowers and swings to amuse the ladies who share and lend zest to his leisure moments. Much of his time is devoted to toilet he must bathe in anointed perfumed garlanded and teach the cage birds to speak or enjoy the brutal spectacle of ram or cock fights or in company of ladies of the demimonde he may visit the parks outside the town. There are concerts to be attended, billets and theatrical spectacles to be visited. He has a lute beside him so that he may make music when he will and a book to read at leisure. Bon-companions and hangers on of various ranks the fags फैग्स and fagots फैगोट्स are essential to his happiness and drinking parties are not unknown but the ideal for bids mere rude licence, with aims at elegance moderation and a measure of dignity. He speaks the vernacular blended with sanskrit indicating his fine culture. Hetairas are essential but they must be accomplished in art and learning with good manners. Poets of repute with reward of skill

in panegyric and high poems are necessary in the royal court. In fact it was the duty of the king to bridge the gulf between wealth and poetic talent and of the poet to save his patron from the night of oblivion with his death. At royal courts poets vied in eager rivalry with one another. Monarchs, too, liked to claim renown for skill in poetry and dramatic art. We find the Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta, strove for renown as a man of letters, the king Harsha, not only patronised Banabhatta, but claimed the authorship of dramas and poems, king Bhoja of Dhara, four centuries later, was more fortunate in the production of a large variety of his works. In 12th century, Lakshmana sen, the last king of Bengal, though not himself a poet, revived the glory of king Harsha's patronage to poets by being the patron of the famous Jayadeva, Umapatidhara, Dhoi, Govardhana &c. To a king, Hala or Sata Vahaña, is ascribed the anthology of Maharashtri verses called Sapta Sati and Vakpatiraja wrote his Prakrit epic Gauda vaha (গৌড়বাহ) for king Yasovarman of Kanauj, thus assuring him an immortality to survive his defeat at the hands of king Lalitaditya of Kashmere. The kings of kashmir often distinguished themselves by generosity to their laureates (কবিবাজ) and to such enlightened activity we owe Somadeva's কথামুবিসাগর. It was the patronage of king Kanishka (কণিষ্ঠ) which produced the great work of the court-epic, the 'Buddha charita' of poet Aswaghosha. Aswaghosha 'was famous both as a poet and a

philosopher. He was originally a Brahman adhered to the वैदिक शास्त्र school of Buddhism and afterwards became one of the fore runners of the Mahayana school. The name of his mother was शूद्राणी and he was originally an inhabitant of Salsette.

His works — (1) Vajrasuchi (वज्रसुचि) consisting of an able and bitter attack on Brahmanical caste system is ascribed to him (2) Gandistotra gatha (गंडित गाथा) is a book on songs by him attesting his comprehension of the power of music besides it is an effort to describe in words the religious message carried to the hearts of men by the sounds produced by beating a long strip of wood with a short club (3) of later authorship is his Sutralalita (शूद्रालिता) which is preserved in a fragmentary condition in Sanskrit. The tales are written in prose and verse clearly of the chaste type. Here the author set out the substance of the Jatalas (जातल) and अवदान (abadanas) (4) Buddhacharita (बुद्धचरित) a great Sanskrit epic originally in 28 cantos is known from Chinese and Tibetan Version was a complete account of the life of the Buddha but we have now only 17 cantos (5) Siundirinanda (सौन्दरिनन्दा) — it was the first attempt of the Poet on Sanskrit epic. The topic of the Poem is the legend of the conversion of the reluctant Nanda his half brother by the Buddha a story recounted in the Mahavagga (महावग्ग) and the Nidanakatha but the poet deals with it in the approved manner of the later Kavya [The existence of the Lalita vistara (ललितविष्टरा) during Aswa Ghoddas

time can not be proved, so that it can not be said that it influenced him in the choice of his source of the Saundarananda. Besides the Lalita Vistara is written in the main in Sanskrit prose of the plain type, intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit of the Gatha style]

The Avadanas (অবদানস.) and later Poetry .

Connected with Aswaghosha is a mysterious Matricheta (মাতৃচেত) of whose numerous works fragments alone exist in Sanskrit. Amongst the avadana texts preserved the oldest is the অবদান শতক (Abadana Sataka) which was rendered into Chinese in the first half of the third century A D. Far more interesting as literature is the দ্বিজাবদান (Divyavadana) a collection of legends like the Avadana Sataka, draws largely on the Vinayapitaka (বিনায়পিটক) of the Sarvastitwa-Vadin school of Buddhism. The gem of the collection is the pathetic legend of Kunala, son of Asoka, whose false stepmother succeeds in poisoning his father's mind against him and in having him blinded without his permitting himself either hate or reproach

আর্যসুর (Aryasura) and later Poetry জাতকমালা (Jatakamala) in Sanskrit of Kavya style by Aryasura edifies the anecdotes of Buddha's action in former births. It was a popular work amongst the Buddhists. The form of the tales, composed in prose with verses intermingled, is of historical interest. নাগার্জুন (Nagarjuna) of the latter part of the second century A.D. was the author of মধ্যমকারিকা (Madhyamakarika)

maka karika) and Aryadeva (अर्यादेव) 250 A D, was the author of the Chatuh Satika (चतु शतिक) which shows considerable power of irony in his onslaught on the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the Ganges to remove sin and acquire merit The शिष्यालेख धर्मकाव्य (Sishyalekha Dharma kavya) of Chandragomin is a treatise on instruction in the form of a letter to a pupil dealing with the essential facts of the Buddhist faith It had its predecessor in the सुहृलेख (Suhrillekha) of नागर्जुन (Nagarjuna) wherein the author summarises the doctrine for a king शिक्षासमूच्य (Siksha Samuchchaya) of Santideva (शान्तिदेव) gives a sketch of the career of one who seeks to attain Buddhahood as opposed to the narrow Hinayana ideal of saintship Asanga, brother of Vasubandhu of the 4th century A D composed महायान सूत्रालङ्कार (Maha yana Sutralankara) in correct but undistinguished Sanskrit utterly overloaded with technicalities On the early development of the Kavya welcome light has been thrown by Prof Luder's edition of the fragments found in central Asia of the वज्रामर्तिका of Kumaralata (द्व्यारलाता) which is the true description of the work hitherto known to us through a Chinese translation as the Sutralankara of Aswaghosha That work was quite different in character from Kumaralata's He was a younger contemporary of Aswaghosha who lived even after the death of king Kanishka

Bharavi (भारवि) Bhatti (भट्टि), Kumardasa (कुमारदास) and Magha (माघ) Bharavi (भारवि)—

ranks second in magnitude amongst the constellations of the Kavya. From external evidence we know that he was older than 634 A.D., when he is mentioned with Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription and is cited in the Kasika Vritti (काशिकावृत्ति). He was strongly influenced by Kalidasa while he strongly affected Magha. Banabhatta ignores him. We should therefore place him in the second half of the sixth century A.D., only by less than a century earlier than Panabhatta. We have only his विजातालुनीय in 18 cantos. It describes the combat of Siva in the guise of a hunter (किरात) and Arjuna (अर्जुन) the third Pandava and the latter's acquisition of the invincible weapon called Pasupata (पाशपत) through the grace of the former. The plot was taken from the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. In spite of his high proficiency of epic poetry, Bharavi is guilty of errors of taste from which Kalidasa is free. Bharavi again sets a bad example in his fondness for showing his skill in grammar and he is the beginner of mannerisms in later poets. In metrical form Bharavi is as developed as he is in the use of the figures of speech.

Bhatti (भट्टि). He is the author of the epic Ravanavadha (रावण वध) more usually called Bhattikavya (भट्टिकाव्य) in 22 cantos. He tells us in the 22nd canto of the Bhattikavya that he composed it in Valabhi (in Gujrat) under Sridharasena. Four kings of this name are known, the last of whom breathed his last in 641 A.D. we can not here ascertain which of the four was the patron of the poet, nor

can be identified with बत्साभट्टि (Batsa Bhatti) of the Mandasar inscription. The name Bhatti is prakritised from भट्टि and it is not surprising that in tradition he has been identified with भट्टश्वरि or made a son or half brother of that famed poet. There is nothing however but the name to support the suggestion. He was imitated by Magha and was known to Bhamaka. Bhatti's poem serves the double purpose of describing Rama's history and of illustrating the rules of Grammar. In the latter aspect the 22 cantos of the भट्टिकाव्य fall into four sections. The first five cantos illustrate miscellaneous rules (अधिकारकाण) cantos VI—IX the leading rules (अधिकार-काण) X—XIII are given to illustration of the ornaments of poetry (शश्वरकाण) and the rest of the poem illustrates the use of the moods and tenses (दिग्दुर्भावकाण). Bhatti's work illustrates well his skill in both poetry and grammar. Bhamaka the Kashmirian poet wrote रावणार्जुनीय (Ravanarjuniyā) in imitation of Bhatti illustrating a grammatical poem but it was a quite unsuccessful work.

Kumaradasa (कुमारदास) He was a king of Ceylon (517—26 A.D.) and wrote the epic जानकीहरण (Janaki harana) in 19 cantos. It is an epic of rare merit and describes the incidents of the Ramayana. His majesty was a warm admirer of Kalidasa and imitated him in many respects in style subject matter and even in the use of figures of speech.

Magha (मग्ध) He is the author of the epic शिशुपालवध in 20 cantos the plot being adapted from

the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. The poet tells us towards the close of his epic that his father was दत्तक मन्त्राध्यम (Dattaka Sarvasraya) and his grandfather सुप्रियदेव (Supriyadeva) was the minister of a king whose name is variously read as वर्मलक्ष्य (Varma-lakhya), Varmalata (वर्मलाता) &c. There is an inscription of a king Varmalata of 625 A. D from which we may place Magha in the latter part of the 7th century. This accords satisfactorily with the fact that he is clearly later than Bharavi who, in a sense, was his model, than Bhatti whose मृग्यहस्त्वः he trumps with किम् गृह्यत्वैर्गत्तर्त्वकाः (ever and again they fainted, their husbands gone) and probably than Kumaradasa. He was acquainted with the Kāsika-Vritti of Panini's Astadhyayi together with the Nyasakara, referred to in canto II. 112. He knew of the नागामन्त्र of king Haisha and of the Vasavadatta of Subandhu. The poet Magha was a devoted Vaishnava, while Bharavi was a Saiva. The शिशुपालवध describes how शिशुपाल, lord of Chedi, son of Damaghosha and Srutavas, was slain by his cousin (मातृलेय) Krishna. The plan and execution of the epic is based on those of the Kīratarjuniya. Bharavi magnifies Siva while Magha magnifies Vishnu.

THE LESSER EPIC POETS

1. **Mentha or Bhartrimentha** (मेण्ठ or भर्त्रमेण्ठ), also called Hastipaka, is the author of हयग्रीववध (Haya-griva Vadha) on account of which the Poet was highly rewarded by his royal patron Matrigupta.

He lived towards the latter part of the sixth century

2 शेतुबंध (Setu Bandha) or रावण वध (Ravana Vadha) ascribed to Kalidasa but most probably composed by the royal poet Pravarasena of Kasmere who succeeded Matri Gupta. It is an epic in Prakrit and describes the construction of the bridge over the sea by Rama chandra and the destruction of Ravana. It was really composed by the royal poet to commemorate the building of a bridge of boats across the विहङ्गा (Jhilum) by his majesty himself

3 Ravanarjuniya (रावणार्जुनोद्य) or आर्जुनरावपीड (Arjuna Raviniya) of Bhautmaka (also styled Bhima Bhuma or Bhumaka) is an epic in 27 cantos and tells the tale of the strife between Kartavirya Arjuna and Ravana and illustrates rules of grammar. But it falls far below the Bhatti Kavya it imitates

4 Kavirahasya (कविरहस्य) of Halayudha which is meant to illustrate the modes of formation of the present tense of Sanskrit roots and incidentally serves as a eulogy of the Rishtrakuta king Krishna III (940 - 56 A D) is an epic of very low poetical merit

5 Kapphanabhyudaya (कप्पहनाभ्युदय) based on a tale in the अवधान अतक of the conversion of a king of the south who had harboured evil designs against the king of Sravasti (श्रावस्ती) was composed by शिवद्वादिन् in full epic manner manifestly under the influence of Magha and Bharavi in style and structure. It is a Buddistic epic of the reign of Avanti

varman of Kashmir before the close of the 9th century,

6. **Hara Vijaya** (हरविजय) is an epic of the Kashmirian poet Ratnakara (रत्नाकर) with the styles राज नक and वार्गी शब्द in 50 cantos under the influence of Magha. The author lived under Brihaspati or cipata Jayapida and Avantivarman about 850 A. D. The theme is the slaying of the demon Andhaka, born of Siva, by the God himself.

7. **कादम्बीकथासरा** (Kadambari Kathasara) an epitome in epic form of Bana's Kadambari, composed by Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta of Kashmir about the middle of the ninth century. The author mentions himself as contemporary of राजशेखर ।

8 **Ramacharita**, dealing with the history of Ramachandra from the rape of Sita, is an epic by another Abhinanda, son of Satananda of Kashmir.

9. In the eleventh century Kashmir produced the polymath शेषेन्द्र In 1037 A D, he wrote भारतानश्वरी and in 1066 A. D., he wrote दशावतारचरित, (the 10 incarnations of Vishnu,) wherein he celebrates the Buddha as the ninth. Of early date is his रामावतानश्वरी, an epitome of Valmiki's Ramayana which, like that of the महाभारत, is important for the history of the text. शेषेन्द्र turned Kadambari also into verse in the पद्यकादहस्री ।

12. In the 12th century Kashmir produced another poet मंखा (Mankha) who composed the epic श्रीवर्ष्टचरित (Srikantha charita) in 25 cantos telling the tale of the overthrow of the demon त्रिपुर (Tripura)

by Siva He was a pupil of ୫୫୫ author of ଅଳକାର ମର୍ଦ୍ଦ

13 The epic Haracharitachintamani (ହରଚରିତ ଚିନ୍ତମଣି) of the Kashmirian poet ଜୟରଥ (Jayaratha) in the 12th century has some value for religion as a store house of Saiva myths and of evidence of Saiva practices and beliefs

14 Rāmīpīla charita (ରାମପାଲ ଚରିତ) of Sandhya kari Nandin is intended to refer in each stanza to the history of Ramachandra as also to king Rama pala at the close of the 11th century in Bengal

15 Raghava Pandaviya (ରାଘବ ପାନ୍ଦୁଯୀୟ) of କବିଶାଙ୍କ (ମାଧ୍ୟ ଭଟ୍ଟ) styled ଶୁଣି or ପଣ୍ଡିତ at about 1000 A D celebrates by ଦ୍ଵେଷ (double entendres) simultaneously the actions of Ramachandra and of the Pandava princes The stories of the Ramayana and the Maha bharata are told at one and the same time

16 The ରାଘବ ନୈଷଧୀୟ (Raghava Naishadhiya) of Haradatta Suri tells by double entendres (ଦ୍ଵେଷ) the tale of Ramachandra and Nila but it has not the merit of the ରାଘବ ପାନ୍ଦୁଯୀୟ

17 The ରାସିକରନ୍ଧୀ (Rasikaranjana) of Rama chandra son of Lakshmana Bhatta who wrote in 1542 at Ayodhya, gives us an erotic poem in one way and a eulogy of asceticism in another

18 Naishadhacharita or Naishadhiya (ନୈଷଧଚରିତ or ନୈଷଧୀୟ) is a remarkable epic in 22 cantos of Sriharsha (ଶ୍ରୀହର୍ଷ) son of Hiru (ହିରୁ) and Mamalla devi (ମାମଲ୍ଲାଦେବୀ) who wrote under ବିଜୟଚନ୍ଦ୍ର and ବ୍ୟଜଚନ୍ଦ୍ର (Vijayachandra and Jayachandra) of Kanauj in the second half of the 12th century He was also author

of the খঙ্গনথ ও খান্দজ wherein he establishes the reasonableness of the Vedanta by showing that all attempts at obtaining certainty are fallacious

19 যাসোধরচরিত (Yasodhara charita) of Kanakasena Vadiraja, is a Kavya in 4 cantos with 296 verses composed in the 10th century.

20 যশস্তিলক (Yasastilaka) of Somadeva Suri of the 11th century

21 & 22 Pandava Charita (পাণ্ডব চরিত) and Mrigavati charitra (মৃগাবতী চরিত্র) of দেবপ্রভ দূরি are works of the 13th century.

23. মহীপাল চরিত in 14 cantos of টারিএস্কুলৰ গণিন् is an epic of the 13th century

24. পদ্যাচুড়ামণি (Padyachudamani) ascribed to the Pali scholar দুন্দুঘোষাচার্য is a মহাকাব্য of high merit

— — —

Lecture 3

HISTORICAL KAVYA

Beginnings of History

1 The Puranas contain, amid vast masses of religious and social matters, some traces of the activity of court-poets who made genealogies.

2 The Buddhists made some more serious approach to history in their legends of the Buddha, for example the মহাবংশ of মহানামন् in the 5th century A D.

3 The Jains too in their Pattavalis give us accounts of the tirthakaras

4 Poetic merit of a modest kind may be found from time to time in the inscriptions which are the most substantial early contributions to Indian history. The most valuable in this regard are the encomia prasastis of which we have noted specimens of the Gupta age

5 We are carried further into the region of History by the Harsha Charita of Bana Bhatti of the 7th century. It is a historical prose romance about the poet himself and his patron King Harshavardhāna of Kanauj

6 The गोडवर (Gaudavaha) of Vakpati Raja written in Maharashtra Prakrit to celebrate the defeat of a Gauda (गोड) prince by the Poet's patron Yasovarman (यसवर्मन) of Kanauj who himself was overthrown and killed not much later (740 A D) by a king of Kasmir (Lalitaditya)

7 Navasahasraka Charita (नवसाहस्रकारिता) of Padma Gupta also called Parimala in 18 cantos was written about 1005 A D alluding to the history of king Sindhuraja Navasahasraka of Malava. It also gives us the mythical theme of the winning of the princess शिष्ठाता

8 कर्णसून्दरी (Karna Sundari) is a drama by Bilhana in which the poet celebrates under the guise of the marriage of a Chaulukya prince to the daughter of a Vidyadhara king an actual wedding of his patron to a princess

9. Bhubanabhyudaya (ଭୁବନାଭୁଦୟ) of Sankuka, according to Kalhana, describes the dreadful battle of Mamma and Utpala (850 A. D.) where the current of the Vitasta (Jhilum) was stemmed by the bodies of the slain.

10. ବିକ୍ରମାନ୍ତା-ଦେବଚରିତ (Vikramanka deva charita), a historical epic in 18 cantos by Bilhana in honour of his patron Vikramaditya VI, Chalukya king of Kalyana (1076—1127.) who bestowed on him the gifts of a blue parasol and an elephant and thus chained him to his court

11. Kalhana of Kashmir, the illustrious poet of the history of Kashmere, tells us in his Rajatarangini (ରାଜତରଙ୍ଗନୀ) the chronicle of the kings of Kasmir from the earliest days. He consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as the still extant Nilamatapurana. The polymath କ୍ରମେତ୍ରାଜ୍ୟାବଳୀ which Kalhana censures for want of care. The Rajatarangini is both an epic and a history.

Minor Historical Kavya

1 Jalhana wrote an account of the life of the king of Rajapuri, in his ସୋମପାଲବିଲାସ (Somapala-Vilasa), ସୋମପାଲ who was conquered by Sussala

2 The virtuous but extremely dreary Jain monk Hemachandra (1088—1172) wrote କୁମାରପାଲଚରିତ or କୁମାରକାବ୍ୟ in 28 cantos in honour of Kumarapala, the Chaulukya king of Anhilvad about 1163 A. D.

3 Kirti kaumudi (କିର୍ତ୍ତିକୌମୁଦୀ) of Someswara Datta (1179—1262), author of various inscriptions,

is a minor historical Kavya on the eulogy of Vastupala a minister of the princes of Gujrat

4 सूरथोत्सव (Surathotsava) in 15 cantos by the same author is a political allegory on Vastupala

5 शुक्रिकृति (Sukrita Sankirtan) in 11 cantos of Ari sinha of the 13th century is historically useful as affording a check on Someswira deva

6 रामपालचरित of Sandhyakira Nandin describes the feats of the powerful king Ramapala of Bengal who recovered his ancestral throne from an usurper Bhima and conquered Mithila, reigning 1084—1130 A D

7 राजेन्द्रकर्णपुरी (Rajendra Karnapuri) of Sumbhu is a panegyric of Harsha deva of Kashmir at whose court the poet wrote अर्योक्तिकृतालंडा च

Bhartrihari Amaru Bilhana and Jayadeva

1 Our first great monument of Sanskrit lyric and gnomic verse after Kalidasa is found in the शतक of Bhartrihari They are (1) शूद्राशतक in varied metres depicting pictures of love, (2) दैवाग्नशतक depicting indifference to things of sense and (3) नातिशतक, depicting wise conduct The शतक contain stanzas from well known works such as the द्वाष्टाख्यासिका the अद्भुत शतकम् the मूर्माराश्वस and other works The author was the same as चतुर्थरि author of the वाक्यपदीप्र, the last independent contribution to Sanskrit Grammatical science He was not a Buddhist but a Saiva of the Vedanta type to whom Siva appears as the most perfect presentation of the final reality the Brahman

Amaru : -ଆମରୁଶତକ (Amaru Sataka) or a century of stanzas of the poet Amaru or Amaruka is presented to us in a very different condition in the manuscripts having from 90 to 115 verses. The ଶତକ was recognised by ଅନନ୍ଦବର୍ଣ୍ଣ (850 A D) as a work of high repute and Vamana (800 A D) cites it. Tradition tells us that the great Sankara animated for a period the body of a king of Kasmir of the name of Amaruka in order to obtain knowledge of the pleasures of love and the Sataka is the record of his experiences with the hundred ladies of the harem. Indeed the Sataka is a collection of pictures of love and it differs from the work of Bhartrihari in that while Bhartrihari deals with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers and takes no thought of other aspects of life.

Bilhana —ଚୌରୀଶ୍ଵରପଞ୍ଚଶିକା (Chaura Panchasika) or more correctly ଚୌରୀଶ୍ଵରପଞ୍ଚଶିକା (Chauri surata panchasika i.e. 50 stanzas on a secret love) is an interesting relic in the form of a poem by Bilhana. In two of the versions it is found (i.e that of Kasmir and that of South India) and it is embedded in a poem styled Bilhanakavya, in which it is asserted to have been composed to record a secret intrigue with a princess. Discovered by the king, the poet was sentenced to death and led out for the purpose, but his recitation of the glowing verses, in which he called to his memory for the last time the joys of their secret union, induced his majesty to relent and permit his marriage to the princess. The princess was Chandralekha.

daughter of king Virasinha of Mithilapattana or she was शमिनोपत्तिका, daughter of king वृन्दाचलाय of Panchala. Besides the poem is an appeal to the goddess Kali by the prince Sundara of Chaura pali when condemned to death by king Virasinha for his intrigue with the princess Vidya which was borrowed by the Bengali Poet Bharata Chandra in his illustrious Bengali Poem दिष्टात्मक. The Poet Bilbani was a Kashmirian and had to live at a southern court

Jayadeva To the court of Lakshmana Sen of Bengal belongs the last great name in Sanskrit poetry ज्यादेव son of Bhojadeva of kindubilva with Govardhana Dhoi Sarina and Umripitidhara as one of the five jewels adorning the court. We have preserved of him one tiny Hindi Poem a eulogy of Hari Govind, claimed to be the oldest in the adigrantha of the Sikhs and many legends are told in the Bhaktamala of his devotion to Krishna who himself aided him to describe the loveliness of Radha when his mortal powers failed. He is the reputed author of the perfect and very novel work of art, the Gita Govinda or Gita Govinda Kavya the poem in which Govinda, Krishna as lord of the herdsmen (both male and female) is sung. He is the over king of poets (अविक्षम राज) and his high qualities (of version) attracted the praise of the east and the west alike. Sir William Jones calls the श्रीगीत गाविन् a little pastoral drama. Lassen calls it a lyric drama, while Von Schroeder prefers to term it a refined Yatra. The poet divides his

poem into cantos. The songs are given to us with precise indication by the terms of the melody (राग) and time (ताळ) of the music and dance they are to accompany. It was no doubt an immense original step from the popular songs of the Yatras to produce so remarkably beautiful and finished a work. The art of the poet displays itself in the mode of his blending the song and the recitative in the skill with which monotony of form is avoided by not restricting the recitative to mere introductory verses explaining the situation, while the songs express in their turn the feelings of the personnel of the poem, Krishna, his favourite Radha and the faithful friend, who is the essential confidante of all.

Classical poets see no harm in love-adventures of the greatest deities and what Kalidasa did in his कमादनस्त्रब was repeated by all his successors in one form or another. But the religion of Jayadeva was the fervent Krishna-worship which found in the God the power which is ever concerned with all the wishes, the hopes and fears of men, which, if in essence infinite and ineffable, yet expresses itself in the form of Krishna and which sanctions in his amours the loves of mankind. In this sense the Gitagovinda is deeply touched with the spirit of religion. All doubt and all scepticism are far from Jayadeva, to whom alike in his play with others and in his more abiding love for Radha and Krishna, He remained not merely divine, but the embodiment of the highest of Gods. The poem is a masterpiece and it surpasses in its completeness of

effect any other Indian poem Fondness of Yamakas (not due to अङ्गार) led the poet to use rhyme in the *Gitagovinda*

Lyric poetry and the anthologies

1 शृङ्गारस्तिक attributed on no reasonable ground, to Kalidasa consists of 23 stanzas of attractive pictures of love but they lack special distinction

2 Ghata Karpura in 22 stanzas describes how a young wife at the beginning of the rains sends a message by the cloud to her absent husband reverse of what is described in Kalidasa's रघुवंश. The poem owes its title to the fact that the author at the close offers to carry water in a broken jar for any one who can surpass him in अद्वैत (i.e. alliterations consisting of repetitions in corresponding places of groups of the same letters) Hence there has been evolved the poet घटकपर्णि who would thus have perpetuated his name by this wordplay He was included in the list of the nine Jewels of king Vikramaditya's court To Ghatakara para is ascribed a poem called नार्तिसार in 21 stanzas

3 सूर्यस्तिक (Suryasitaka) is a lyric of Miyura (मृदुर) who flourished at Harsha Vardhana's court in the 7th century and was the reputed father in law of Banabhatta The legend tells us that the poet described so minutely the beauties of his daughter that she cursed him in anger and he became a leper from which unhappy state he was rescued through the aid of the Sun God by his eulogizing him in his सूर्याशुद्धक

4 आर्यासप्तसति (Arya Saptasati) of Govardhana of

the court of king Lakshmana Sena is a lyric of not very high merit. The aim of Govardhana, as he himself insists, was to raise the Yamuna in the air in the shape of elevating the simple love-songs extant in Prakrit to the level of Sanskrit. His chosen medium is the Arya verse, and he has composed in this metre, which is borrowed by Sanskrit from Prakrit, seven hundred erotic stanzas, without inner connection, and arranged alphabetically. The poetry lacks the popular flavour which marks the Saptasati (সপ্তাশতী) of Hala who was no doubt the model of the poet here,

The anthologies (কবিবিলাসমূহক্ষয়) are the source of our knowledge of the poet Panini, the grammarian. Many poems are anonymous, while others are so variously ascribed by the anthologies that no weight can be placed on the names ascribed to them. কবিবিলাসমূহক্ষয় is an anthology in Nepal সভ্যকণামৃত or সভ্যকণামৃত of শৈবরদাস is another anthology. জলহ্রস স্বভাবিতমূল্যাবলি and শান্তিধর পদ্ধতি are noted anthologies

Religious poetry

Production of hymns of praise to Gods naturally did not cease with the Vedic poets, but they gradually led to the praise of Siva, Vishnu, Brahman, &c, the sectarian Gods. They were strengthened from time to time by the influx of praise to the Sun by sun worshippers from Iran

1 The চান্দিশতক (Chandisataka) of Bana-Bhatta in honour of the goddess Chandi is both a poem and a prayer for protection of worshippers in 102 stanzas.

2 ভক্তমর স্তোত্র (Bhaktamara stotra) of Manatunga or Matangi of the court of Harshavadhana in honour of the Jain saint Rishiva is a poem on devotion

3 It is difficult to realise that a religious motive is also present in the বক্রোক্তি পঞ্চাশিকা (Vakrokti Panchashika) of the Kasmirian poet Ratnakara who in 50 stanzas shows a remarkable power of illustrating the ambiguities of the Sanskrit language

4 শিবাপর ধ্যানাপণ স্তোত্র ভবাঙ্গক আনন্দলক্ষ্মী দেবীশতক, অংশাংক সন্ধিস্তান্ত্রিক &c are ascribed to Sankaracharya

5 দেবী শতক of বানব বৰ্ধন the writer on poetics (850 A D) is a nice piece of religious poetry

6 Utpala deva's Stotravali was written about 925 A D It consists of a series of 20 short hymns in honour of Siva

7 Mukunda mala (মুকুন্দমালা) of বৈকুন্ধ কৃষ্ণশেখর in honour of Vishnu was composed in the 10th century A D

8 শীর্ণাশক or বিষবদন in the 11th century A D produced his কৃষ্ণকৃষ্ণায়ত or কৃষ্ণলীলায়ত in 110 stanzas in honour of krishna It is a popular religious poem

Prakrit Lyrics

1 Hala's Sattasai (সপ্তসতী) comes before us with a definite character of its own which was attempted to be imitated by গোবৰ্ধন The author was শাস্ত্রবাহন of the 1st or the 2nd century A D It is a folk poem in Maharashtri dialect

2 A later Prakrit anthology is the Vajjalagga of Jayavallabha a চেতাবন্ন কবৈন

Lecture 4

Gnomic and Didactic poetry.

India has ever delighted in the expression of pithy observations on life and morals. In the Rig-veda moral stanzas are incidentally preserved in surprising number in an episode of the ऐतरेय आक्षण. Such verses are seen in the Upanishads and the sutras, while the महाभारत is too rich both in gnomic and didactic matter. Patanjali knew such a literature and in the एत्य दि of the Pali canon we have the finest collection of sententiae known in India. We see, in fact, the process at work in the case of the collections, such as the राजनीतिसमूह, the चाणक्यनीति, चाणक्यराजनीति, बृद्धचाणक्य, लघुचाणक्य &c. The number of recensions is extremely large. Other minor collections of gnomic stanzas are attributed to Vararuchi, to Ghata-Karpara and to Vetala Bhatta under the styles of नीतिवेद, नीतिसाब, and नीतिप्रदोप, all of them containing some excellent stanzas. Of greater importance is the नीतिशतक of भर्तृहरि. Under the avaricious king शक्रवर्णन् (883-902 A.D.) of Kasmir Bhallata wrote his शतक, carefully elaborated and in varied metres. Less original is the शास्त्रिशतक of another Kasmirian poet, Silhana, who had also worked in Bengal. He was an admirer of Bhartrihari and often borrowed from him, when he did not reproduce he altered in order to adapt the stand-point of an earnest Vaishnava to that of a Saiva like Bhartrihari. He was essentially bent on glorifying the merits of asceticism and there

is much in him that is common to all three great religions Hinduism Buddhism and Jainism शत्रु wrote under king Harsha of Kashmir 1089-1101 an अन्यकि मूलान्तरात्क in 108 elaborate stanzas of ordinary merit His बालद्वारकर्पूर was a eulogy of Har ha दृष्टान्तक of द्रुमदेव illustrates each maxim by an example भावशत्क of नारायण of the Tīkī family or of भाव his protege, and the उपदेशमूल of Gumanī are works of ordinary merit ज्ञानग in the 17th century wrote his भृत्यनीविलास admirable as an erotic poem an elegy and a store of gnomic sayings

The anthologies are equally rich in gnomic matter as well as in lyric stanzas चाचकाटक is the most famous

There is of course no clear line of demarcation between the gnomic and the didactic verse. The easiest mode of distinction rests on the extent and degree of unity of conception and that permits of indefinite variety शास्त्रिनेदेव वोचियावतात्र is the most distinguished effort to adapt the elegances of Sanskrit poetry to the exposition of a complex philosophical and moral theme The शत्रूणी of इश्वराचार्य sets out with some wealth of imagery the principles of the वेदात् The मोहमूलात्र on the other hand by the fire of its manner and the elaborate rhyming it affords is more lyric than didactic The कुट्टेनीमत of दामोदरकप्त minister of king त्रायी of Kashmir (779-813 A D) is the interesting advice of a hetaira From the point of literary history it depicts a representation of Harsha's द्रव्यावली in an effective and realistic manner The नीतिमङ्गली of Dya dvi Veda (प्रजापि ८) 1494 A D

illustrates some 200 Verses of maxims by tales culled from Siyana's commentary on the Rigveda. The মুঞ্চাপদ্মেশ of Jalhana is a warning in 66 stanzas against the wiles of hetairai. Half a century younger than দেবনেন্দ্র was অনিতগতি whose সুভাষিতরত্নন্দোহ (collection of jewels of happy sayings) was written in 994 A D, and his ধৰ্মপরীক্ষা, 20 years later. The former work, in 32 chapters, touches on the Various aspects of Jain ethics with an obvious polemical attitude towards Brahmanical practice and speculations. More important is হেমচন্দ্র's যোগশাস্ত্র in simple শ্লোকs with his commentary in somewhat elaborate prose শৃঙ্খলারবৈরাগ্য-তত্ত্বপিলো of মোমপ্রত (1276 A D) in 46 stanzas, denounces the love of women.

DIDACTIC FABLE.

Origin of Fable From the earliest times of the life of the Vedic Indians in India tales of all sorts passed current among the people as fairy tales, Marchen, or myths or fables in early stages of their development. Whatever be the purpose in which Brahmins are compared to croaking frogs as they sing at their sacrifice in the Rigveda it is clear that we have a recognition of a certain kinship between men and animals, which coming out clearly in the Upanishads gives us the allegory or satire of the dogs searching out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two flamingoes calling attention to Raikwa and the instruction of the young Satya-Kama first.

by a bull then by a flamingo and then by an aquatic bird. Then in the epic Mahabharata we find clear recognition of fables. Not only do we hear of the bird providing golden eggs but of the naughty cat deceiving the little mice by an appearance of virtue so that they delivered themselves into her power and we have a motif which certainly is strongly suggestive of the material whence developed the Panchatantra. The Buddhist too were already making use of the common belief in close relationship of men and animals and they illustrated the deeds of greatness of the Buddha and his contemporaries in births by relating beast stories. The fable we have in the Panchatantra is an elaborate production. It is essentially didactic and thus must consist in part of a tale but in part also of a moral or maxim of practical life. The fable is essentially connected with the नौरिकांश and the अर्थांश dealing with man's action in practical politics and conduct of the ordinary affairs of every day life and intercourse. At no time can we regard the didactic fable as intended merely to extol cleverness without regard to morality there lingering around the work a distinct influence of the धर्मांश seeing that it was intended for instruction of the young princes and that the instructor was a Brahmin. The form of the fable is essentially dictated by its origin. The story is related in prose but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse and it is natural that other didactic verses should be strewn in the tales. It is not possible to

speak of a Prakrit fable literature as being the precursor of the Panchatantra. The fable was of an independent creation in Sanskrit. The stories in the Panchatantra belong to the কথা class, though in one version it is called তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা (কথা meaning stories and আখ্যাত্রিকা historical romances).

Origin of the Panchatantra and its reconstruction : The original of the Panchatantra is now lost. But we can find our way back to the substance of the original by examination of the chief of its representatives present before us in four main groups. The first is the Pahlevi version made before 570 A D whereof we have before us an old Syrian and an Arabic version. The second is a version produced in north-west India, which was interpolated in the version of গুণাটা's বৃহৎকথা which formed the basis of the বৃহৎ-কথামঞ্চরী of ফেরমেন্ত ব্য সন্দাস and of the বাধাসরিদেস গ্রন্থ of সে নদেব in the 11th century. The third is represented by two Kasmir Versions styled তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা and by the two Jain recensions which derive their matter from a text akin to the তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা and some other unknown versions. Fourthly we have the common ancestor of the Southern Panchatantra, the Napalese পঞ্চতন্ত্র and the popular হিতে পদেশ, the latter two being derived from a version, sister to the southern পঞ্চতন্ত্র now lost and the হিতোপদেশ, in considerable measure, being derived from another source altogether. The name of the original was certainly পঞ্চতন্ত্র, but we can not say for certain what তত্ত্ব means here. Does it mean a book or does it indicate trick, specimen of sharp-

conduct or didactic or authoritative treatise ? Again does ପାଞ୍ଚଶିଳ୍ପୀ denote a ପ୍ରକାଶିତ in the form of tales arranged in five books or an authoritative text book (for policy) in the shape of an ଆଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକୀ or a text book composed of instructive or didactic tales ? It is perhaps likely that ପକ୍ଷଚାନ୍ଦ୍ର �meant originally five subject-matters as a title of a treatise dealing with five subject matters Of the state of the original it must have existed before the Pihlavi version was made and that it was composed as early as the 2nd century B C The author of the original was no doubt a Brahman but the name ବିଷ୍ଣୁଶର୍ମୀ (Vishnu Sarman) remains quite in the dark The author is described as relating the tales to the sons of king ଅମରାଧିତୀ of Mahilaropya or Mihilaropya in the Deccan, which is a sign of its southern origin while the ହିତୋପଦେଶ is connected with Bengal

ହିତୋପଦେଶ (Hitopadesa) Among various descendants of the Panchatantra the Hitopadesa reigns in Bengal The author gives his name as ଗୁରୁଶର୍ମୀ whose patron was ଧ୍ୟାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର His mention of the term Sunday (ଶନୀରାତ୍ରି) as a day of perfect rest shows that it can not be until 900 A D Besides he was later than ଶର୍ମୀ That he wrote in Bengal is made probable by the tale wherein he describes the worship of ଗୌରୀ (Gauri) very prevalent amongst the tantrikas of Bengal His purpose is given frankly as instruction in conduct and his sources are stated to be the Panchatantra and another anonymous book The political interest of the ପକ୍ଷଚାନ୍ଦ୍ର is fully maintained and Narayana borrowed

largely from the कामददोष नीतिनाम in addition to what he got in the पञ्चतन्त्र. From the Panchatantra Narayana derived the inversion of books I and II, but in books III and IV he went his own way.

The बृहदकथा and its descendants : One of our serious losses in Indian literature is the disappearance of the बृहदकथा (Brihat Katha) of Gunadhya which ranked beside the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as one of the great store-houses of literary art. We find it first named by Subandhu and Banabhatta in their works and by Dandin in his Kavyadarsa. Of his personality we have an account in three Kashmirian sources, the बृहद वप्तव्यानाम of देवेन्द्र वामदास, the कथासरितसागर of मोगदेव and the ह्रचरित्तिष्ठानिं of ज्वरवर्थ. From the above works we know that गुणाध्या was born at Mathura, became in time a pandita in the court of king Madana of Ujjain, was vanquished by Sarva Barman and was advised to write in ऐप्शाची dialect by a seer Pulastya and he composed the बृहदकथा and got it recited to king Sata Vahana by means of his pupils, who rejected the poem and hence in despair the poet threw the manuscripts in to the fire. The king then could save only one seventh of the 700,000 slokas of the original from fire. Gunadhya's time is uncertain, it was between the first and the 5th centuries A D. It is impossible to determine the exact context of the Brihatkatha. The sources on which he drew were three in number. The Ramayana gave him the motif of the search of a husband for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after a happy marriage, from

Buddhist legends and other traditions of Ujjain and Kausambi he was deeply familiar with the tales of Pradyota or Mahasena and the gallant and dashing hero Udayana whose love adventures were famed for their number and variety. He was also in touch with the many tales of sea voyages and strange adventures in far lands which were current in busy centres of Indian trade and with the abundant fairy tales and legends of magic current in India. Gunadhyas influence is seen in the drama वृहदतिक, in दण्डनूड्यमाद्यविक्ष in somideva Suris रथतिक and in धनपाल's दिनकरमध्यवी वृहदकथामाला of बुद्धयामिन् —The manuscripts of this work are from Nepal. It is divided into cantos (र्ण) of which only 28 survive in 4539 verses. Though we have only fragmentary portions of the original still it is a genuine sanskrit version of the वृहदकथा. The वृहदकथामध्यवी of लेक्ष्मण and the धनासद्विद्यमाला of शोदामेव are the Kashmirian versions of the वृहदकथा in Sanskrit. Kshemendra's वृहदकथामध्यवी was produced in his youth like his जागत्यागी and रामायण मध्यवी His abridgements are dry and sober reproducing faithfully, though with much omission and curtailment often to obcurity their originals but depriving them of all life and attraction. But we can assume that his account of the contents of the वृहदकथा of Kashmir records with reality. The coincidence of the two recensions tells us plainly that the original was divided into 18 रथकां as its main divisions. धनासद्विद्यमाला is the Sanskrit version of the वृहदकथा of शोदामेव a Brahman of Kashmir, son of Rama.

between 1063 and 1081 A D, who wrote it to divert the troubled mind of शृंगारा a princess of Jalandhara, wife of Ananta and mother of Kalasa.. The work falls a considerable period after that of क्षेमेन्द्र. In addition to the division into lambakas Somadeva has one of his own composition into भाग 124 in all, in relation to his naming the book as Ocean of the rivers of stories (वर्गासरिंसाग्र)

Romantic and didactic Tales 1. Romantic tale The fame of the Brihatkatha resulted in few other tales preserved in works of early date. (1) The वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका (Vetalapanchavinsatika) was originally part of a distinct cycle, but it is preserved for us in its oldest form in क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी and सोमदेव's कथासरिंसाग्र. We have several other recensions, of which that of शिवदास (Sivadasa) is in prose and verse, representing the original form of the tales. One recension of an anonymous author is no more than a prose version based on क्षेमेन्द्र, and Kshemendra's verses have here and there found their way into the codices of शिवदास. The late recension of ज्ञानदत्त has no verse maxims and its form of tales is in some respects older than that shown by other recensions. An abbreviated version by बल्लदास is also known. शिवदास's recension can not date before the 12th century A D (2) सिंहासनवान्दिंशिका or 32 tales told by the statues of maiden on a throne alleged to have been discovered by Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century, when that king desired to seat himself on it. The throne is said to have been won by Vikramaditya

as a gift from Indra and after his death in battle against लिवहन it had been buried in the earth and the 32 spirits bound there in statue form tell tales of the great monarch and receive release. More like the original form is the south Indian version with gnomic verses and occasional narrative verses mingled in its Prose. In a North Indian recension the stories are lost in morals. The Bengal version ascribed to वररुचि (Vararuchi) is merely based on the Jain recension. The work is later than the Vetalu Pinchavini atika विक्रमादित्य's adventures are also the subject of an alleged epic in 30 Chapters the Viracharita (वीरचरित) of Ananti whose real hero is rather शुद्रक once co regent of Sahvahana but later a supporter of the descendants of Vikramaditya. Of the Salivahana Katha in 18 cantos partly in prose by शिवदास and (4) of the दध्वानलवधा in simple prose with Sanskrit and Prakrit stanzas by आनन्द pupil of Bhatta Vidhyadhara we can say this much that they are romantic tales only. But interesting is (5) the शुकसंक्षिप्ति (Sukasaptati) seventy tales of a parrot of which we have two recensions and was known to the Jain Hemchandra. The form of the original was simple prose interspersed with gnomic verse and with some narrative verses at the beginning and end of each of the tales. The close contact of the literature of tales with the people is shown by the fact that later we find apparent Sanskrit versions of vernacular works as in (6) the भारती द्वात्रिंशिका (Bharatika dwatrinsika) tales intended to deride Brahmins and obviously of Jain inspiration.

শিবদান's কথার্ব, 35 tales including stories of fools and thieves, is also late and in (7) Vidyapati's Purusha-Pariksha (পুরুষপরীক্ষা), a collection of 44 stories, we have the work of an author who won, in the latter part of the 14th century, fame as a Maithili Poet To the same century belong also the legends of jain মেকতুঞ্জ and রাজশেখর in the (8) প্রবন্ধচিন্তামণি and (9) প্রবন্ধকোণ respectively Ballala's (10) ভোজপ্রবন্ধ, legends of the court of king Bhoja of Dhara, is a work of the 16th century

II Didactic tale. The tale aiming directly at edification rather than amusement is specially richly presented in Jain literature. In spite of their fondness to stories, the Jains demanded a moral in each tale and their writers were often led to spoil good stories such as the legends of Vikramaditya by seeking to make the participants in high adventure rather tedious exponents of Jainism

Lecture 5.

GREAT ROMANCES.

1. দণ্ডিন (Dandin) was the author of the Sanskrit romance, Dasa-Kumara charita, and the treatise on Sanskrit shetoric, Kavyadarsa He is said to have been the author of a third work also , but what that work was has not yet been ascertained As to the date of Dandin we know this much that his kavya-

दार्शन was composed before Bhimrishi (A D 700) and he wrote the दृष्टिकथा before the time of king Harsha Vardhana and hence before Subandhu and Banabhatta

Dandin derived the conception of the plot of his romance दृष्टिकथा from Gunadhya's Brihatkithi. Like Bana's Kadambari, the दृष्टिकथा was left incomplete by Dandin. The दृष्टिकथा and the दर्शनकथा were written afterwards. The Dasi kumara charita is a romance of the कथा type, a didactic work in attempt to teach the doctrines of the शिखाद्वय in narratives of attractive character. His distinctive quality is the application to the simple tale, of the grand manner of the Kavya. The main interest of the romance lies in the substance, with its vivid and picturesque account of low life and adventure of magicians and fraudulent holy men of princesses and ruined kings of hetiaras of expert thieves of fervent lovers.

2 शृङ्ख (Subandhu) was the author of the Sanskrit romance Vasavadatta (वासवदत्ता) His name appears first in the Harsha charita of Bana Bhatta, where he is mentioned in the introduction as quelling the pride of poets and in the Kadambari Bana uses the epithet अद्विष्ट (surpassing two) referring his work to the Vasavadatta of Subandhu and the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya. Subandhu's name appears with those of Bhasa Kalidasa and Harichandra in Nakpatiraja's Gaudavaha. He is classed with Menaka Bharavi and Bana by Mankha in his Sri

kantha charita and Kaviraja in his Raghava-Pandaviya boasts that Subandhu, he and Bana are masters of ambiguous diction (অংগুষ্ঠী) He preceded Bana-Bhatta, but was anterior to Vatsyayana, author of the Kaṇṭakaśtra, saint Bharata, author of the Natya Sastra, and Gunadhyā the author of the Brihat katha Subandhu lived in the second quarter of the seventh century Subandhu's বাসবদত্তী was a katha (বর্থা) or a romance whereas there was an akhyayika (আংগুষ্ঠিকা) or historical romance of the same name at a very early age composed by Katyayana as mentioned by Patanjali

Plot of the Vasavadatta. King Chintamani has a beautiful son, Kandarpaketu, who in a dream beheld a damsel of beauty excelling him Sleep leaves him and with his friend Makaranda he sallies forth in quest of the unknown In the Vindhya as he lies sleepless he over-hears the curtain-lecture of an indignant স্বনা bird to her husband who defends himself for late hours by telling how the monarch পুষ্পপুরাজ of Pushpapura has a peerless daughter, বাসবদত্তী, who in a dream has seen the lovely vision of a youth of whom she is deeply enamoured. She has sent her confidante তৃণালিশ to bear to the youth an assurance of her deep love There is no difficulty in securing the meeting of the two at Pataliputra, but the prince learns to his horror that the king, wearied of her unwedded state, means forth-with to marry her to the Vidyadhara-chief পুঞ্জকেতু. The lovers therefore flee by means of a magic-steed to the Vindhya where they fall asleep.

Awakened the prince finds to his sorrow that the maiden has departed and in his despair he is only kept from self destruction by a voice from the sky promising him reunion. After long wandering he finds a statue which at his touch awakens to life as his beloved and in reunion they live in great happiness in Kandarpiketu's capital. Subandhu's claim in the work is that he is a storehouse of cleverness in the composition of words in which there is a pun in every syllable and this is carried out in prose with occasional verses interspersed and with an introduction in verse. In fact Subandhu's ideal was clearly the Giudī (गौडी) style with its enormous compounds (महात्म), its love of etymologizing, its deliberate exaggeration, its love of harsh sounds, its fondness for alliteration, its attempt to match sense closely with sound, its research for recondite results in the use of figures of speech and above all in paronomasia and cases of apparent incongruity.

Bana Bhatta He leaves an autobiography in his historical prose kavya Hirshacharita. He was a Brahman of the Vatsyayana family at श्रीहिन्दु. His great grandfather पात्रपात्र had a son अर्पणि who had 11 sons of whom चक्रवाच was his father and the lady त्रिशूली was his mother. His mother died when he was very young and his father, having brought him up with tender care till he attained 14 breathed his last. After his father's death he joined a dubious company and seized by a fit of wandering he went far acquiring evil repute in abundance.

But he redeemed his misspent youth by consorting with the wise and finally returned to pritikuta. Here he received a royal summons through Krishna, brother of king Harsha Vardhana. He went to the royal camp and was received with marked coldness by the king, but shortly afterwards received the royal favour. He recited the Haishacharita, because on a visit home he was asked to speak of the great king. The work is, however, left unfinished and what is more striking, the poet left his Kadambari incomplete though an end was made for it by his son Bhushana Bhatta or Bhatta Pulina, who states that he did so because regret was felt at the incomplete condition of the work. Between the Harshacharita and the Kadambari, the former was his earlier work than the latter. He was son in law of the poet Mayura, the author of *সূর্যাশতক*. Besides his historical romance (আখ্যায়িকা) Haishacharita and his romance (কথা) Kadambari (পূর্বভাগ) Bana is credited with the চণ্ডীশতক and the play *পার্বতীপরিণয়* in 5 acts. The feebleness of the play both in construction and style might have deterred critics from accepting the attribution and in point of fact it is clear that it was the production of বানভট্টব্যাণ্ড in the 15th, century. The ascription of the বৃঙ্গবলী to Banabhatta is also merely an idle surmise, for the limited imagination and restrained diction of the author of that piece are wholly unlike the over-fertile conception of বাণভট্ট and his amazing command of words.

The *Harshacharita* It is an autobiography

of the poet and a history of king Harshavardhana in whose court he lived for a long time. It is both a history and a proekavya of the abhyayika type.

The Kadambari It is a romance and a Prose Kavya of the Katha type. It has a complex structure of its own for it consists of a long narrative in which are interwoven other narratives given by characters of the work. It is interesting to note how in the Kadambari and in the Brihatkatha tale whence the story is largely derived we find the highest perfection of manner in the inclusion of one tale within another. In the simplest form we have it in the शास्त्र style where a tale of old is led up to by a tale of today and the story ends with the application to today of the legend of the past. In such works as the द्रुतगम्भीरतात्रिकी there is a closer approach to the Kadambari in as much as the tales of the Vampire are all connected with the main purpose of the king and thus though distinct in themselves, serve to help on one main purpose. A closer approach is achieved in the दण्डमालाकाव्य in so far as the princes each narrate their own experiences, thus introducing a degree of life which is wanting in the other forms, for in the Jatakas though the वैदिक tells a tale of what was really his past experience, it is not narrated in the first person. As the idea of the दण्डमालाकाव्य is borrowed from the Brihatkatha, we have an additional proof of the free use there of this device of first hand narrative which is still further developed in the Kadambari.

because the whole of the tales told are essentially part of one complex action, unlike those of the princes of the romance of Dandin. The story is replete with the tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love. There is a strong appeal in the element of the miraculous, nor is there anything save attraction in the wonderful history of the Moon and Pundarika, even the appearance of the latter in parrot-form has nothing ludicrous when it is believed that human beings do pass from one body to another (according to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul). Bana's treatment of love is refined and graceful and shows itself at its best in the scenes between Kadambari and Prince Chandrapida. Bana achieves a wonderful insight into the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty which sway a girl's mind when first she is moved to love. Credit is also due to him for his effective characterisation of so many characters. To king Tarapida, Queen Vilasavati, and above all, to minister Sukanasa he has imparted both life and colour, while the devotion of পত্নী is touchingly portrayed. There is no lack of movement and Bana is perfectly aware of the advantage of contrast. His sense of drama is revealed by the introduction with its brilliant portraits of king শুক্র and the Chandala maiden, while his love for nature and his close observation reveal themselves in his descriptions of the Himalaya,

of lake अङ्गे द of महाशेषा's abode and in minor touches throughout With uncommon merit, Bana's defects are equally grave not merely in respect of style and structure but in respect of proportion his defects are very great In his description of the wood, in his devotion to the beauties of the morning or the evening or the rising of the moon or the limbs of his heroine he loses sight of the plot itself Bana's fondness of figures of speech is obvious and metaphors similes seeming incongruity exemplification Sahokti and others abound

Later romances

Banabhatta set a model which it was easy to admire but infinitely hard to follow with success Critics classed him with श्री-भट्टारिका one of the few poetesses of India who used Sanskrit as a model of the पाक्षिक style in which sense and sound are of equal importance Bana found an imitator in Dhanapali (धनपाल) son of सर्वदेव (Sarvadeva) who lived under the patronage of Siyaka and Vakpati of Dhara and wrote in 972 3 A D ऋषभपञ्चाकी (Rishabha Pancha sika) in 50 stanzas in Prakrit He wrote also a romance called Tilakamanjari (तिळकमञ्जरी) after the heroine imitating Bana's Kadambari Another Jain effort to rival the Kadambari is seen in the गद्यचिन्तामणि (Gadyachintamani) of Odayadeva (alias Vadibha- Sinha) who was a Digambari Jain pupil of Pushpa sena

Champu Kavyas.

The romances contain a few stanzas here and there, but they are normally and effectively in prose, but the literary compositions called Champu (চম্পু) differ vitally from them in that they use prose or verse indifferently for the same purpose. In this Champus differ from other forms of literature in which verse is mingled with prose. The verses in these cases are either gnomic or they serve to summarise the context of the story as do the title verses of the Panchatantra or occasionally they appear to lend greater effect to some point in the narrative as when a short speech is made in pointed form, or a specially important idea is thus underlined. The oldest চম্পুকাব্য (Champu Kavya) is the দময়ন্তীকথা (Damayanti Katha) or নলচম্পু (Nala Champu) of Trivikrama Bhatta as well as his মদালাসচম্পু (Madalasa champu) of the 10th century A. D. To the same century we owe the much more important work, যশস্তিলক (Yasastilaka) written in 959 A.D by সোমদেব (Somadeva) who was a Digambara Jain and who wrote with an eye to the salvation of mankind by means of devotion to Jain faith. Another Jain Champu is the জৈবন্ধুরচম্পু of Harichandra based on the উত্তরপুরাণ (Uttara Purana) of Gunabhadra and written not earlier than 900 A.D. Of Brahmanical Champus, the Ramayana-Champu is ascribed to Bhoja and Lakshmana Bhatta. There is a ভাৰতচম্পু (Bharata Champu) by Ananta in 12 stabakas. The

उदयसुन्दरीकथा (Udaya Sundari Katha) of Soddhala a Valabha Kayastha of Lata who wrote in 1000 A D under the patronage of king Mummuniraja of the Konkan The model of the writer was Harsha chrita of Bana The श्वासुधारचम्पु (Swaha Sudhalara Champa) of Narayana of the 17th century describing the loves of Agnis wife swaha and the Moon in an idyllic manner has been compared by Pischel with Homer's picture of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite The शंकराचेतोविलासचम्पु (Sankara-chetovilasa champa) of Sini lara in honour of chetas sinha whose name figures prominently in the transactions of Warren Hastings is an extempore composition (अंतर्विता)

Fables and Marchen of Greece and India

Parallelisms between Indian and Greek fairy tales and fables have never been ignored Wagener held that Greece was the recipient but Weber and Benfy held that Indian fables were borrowed from Greece Now the Greek fable existing in the time of Hesiod was hinted at in Homer and appeared definitely in Archilochos and simonides But Benfy could not but hold that fairy tales were normally Indian in origin As a chronological consideration stress has been laid on the monumental evidence in India specially at Bharhut of the 3rd or 2nd century BC for the beast fables and the Jataka stories already existed in the 4th and 5th centuries BC We can not ignore the fact of Egypt having played a part in the genesis and

transmission of fables. Hertel insisted that the idea of making use of fables in the instruction on politics was essentially Indian and on its strength he claimed for India originality in respect of the best greek fables. Tales which can not be traced definitely to Indian sources may yet be readily assumed to have reached the west from India. Apart from literature tales often pass from mouth to mouth and the crusades resulted in prolonged intercourse between christians and Mahomedans. The Arab rule in Spain and the jews played an important part as intermediaries. Translations of the Panchatantra: The physician Burzoe under chosrau Anosharwan (631—79) translated a version of the Panchatantra into Pahlavi. It was rendered into syriac by one Bud in 570 A. D. and about 750 A. D. an Arabic version was made by Abdallah Ibna Moquaffa from which the western versions are derived. At the close of the 11th century the Greek version of Simeon, son of Seth, gradually produced an Italian version of 1583 by Giulio Nuti, two Latin and one German versions and various Slav reproductions. In 1100 was produced the Hebrew version of the Rabbi Joel whence was made by John of capua a printed edition in 1480. A spanish version appeared in 1193 and 1570 an English translation of Part I was brought out by Sir Thomas North

Leecture 6

THEORIES OF POETRY (Poetics)

पाणिनित्यशास्त्र of saint Bharata which is essentially a treatise on dramaturgy of the earliest age is earlier than Bhasa and Kalidasa. The great merit of this treatise is that it develops the doctrine of sentiment (भूमि) with its eight subdivisions as erotic (शूद्राव), comic (हास्य) pathetic (कङ्गण) those of anger (ग्रोह), heroism (वीर) fear (भयानक) disgust (वौभृत्य) and wonder (प्रऽति). Sentiment (भूमि) is a condition in the mind of the spectator of a drama or the hearer or reader of a Kavya produced by the emotions of the characters and the emotions (विभाव) are excited by factors which may either be the object of emotion (आपद्य विभाव) or serve to heighten it (उद्दोषन विभाव). Poetics developed the sentiments. After the पाणिनित्यशास्त्र we find the poetics by नृसिंह and भास्यह. Bhaminha had a predecessor in वेदाधन. The earliest person to whom नृसिंह is known was उद्युग्म who commented on him under शशपीड of Kasmir (779—813 A D). The काव्यानश्च of नृसिंह shows us a very simple stage of development of the conception of poetry. An important doctrine was expounded by शनिकार about A D 820 and by the धन्मात्मोक्षार्थ आनन्दवर्द्धन about 40 years later and by the farther exposition of अभिनवक्षुण्ड A D 1000. It was fully dealt in the काव्यार्थकार of एष्टेभट्ट who fully explained शनि, श्वेत and शश शिक्षाय along with the laws of Kavya.

Lecture 7.

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE.

Origin of Sastras (शास्त्र) : Science, Sastra or Vidyā (विद्या), in India arises in very close connection with religion. The Vedic period saw the development of definite sacrificial schools which preserved the tradition of one or other of the 4 Vedas. These vedic schools, however, gradually passed away and what happened was the inevitable rise of specialisation. If in a Rigvedic school the need for grammatical study produced a special school of grammarians (देव्याक्रमण) they would tend to amalgamate with any grammarians who studied the Yajurveda and to extend their interest to the Vedas in general. Thus Yaska (यास्क), earlier than 5th century B C, knows of schools of Vaiyakaranas, of Nairuktas, etymologists and of Yajnikas (याज्ञिक), persons who concerned themselves with the sacrifice, and the grammar of Panini is sufficient proof that there existed a grammatical school which was willing to include in its work usages of different Vedas and different schools of the same Veda. The देव्याक्रमण are the direct ancestors of the science of Grammar in classical times. The Nairuktas 'in spite of their giving an impulse to lexicographical studies, can hardly be said to be the direct cause of the existence of कोश (Kosas), which were largely influenced by the necessity of the writers of Kavya, who required to have collections of words for aid in the composition of poetry. Yet another early develop-

ment within the Vedic period was the building up of schools of law including religious civil and criminal law. This must have been done together with the development of society and the necessity for having some standards to guide the Brahmins who acted as advisers and Judges to the ruling class. The *Manu Smriti* presupposes a considerable period of development during which there arose professional schools to one of which is due the production of the *Smriti* (स्मृति) which claims not to guide the life of any single community but to be a general guide for all classes of the state. The Vedic sacrifice demanded a rudimentary knowledge of the calendar and elementary conceptions of mensuration. Definite ideas of these subjects were slow of development and were at first handed down merely in close connection with each Veda. We still have different recensions of the *Jyotishra* (ज्योतिष) on astronomy and the *Sulba Sutras* (सूल्बसूत्र) on the making of altars and kindred matters. From these beginnings developed a wider geometrical astronomical and astrological science which we find under the comprehensive title of *Jyotisha* studied in distinct schools. Medicine again appears first in the spells of the *Atharva Veda* and was fostered by the schools of magic practices which produced such a work as the *Kausika* (कौशिक) Sutra of that Veda but its Vedic connection is less close than in the case of most of the sciences already mentioned, and what surgery and anatomical knowledge it possessed was furthered by the practice of dissecting

animals for sacrifices and less often even man in the human sacrifice (নৃসেৱ). The Vedic schools developed also a tendency to mysticism which is seen in the আৱণ্যক's (aranyakas) and the Upanishads, which are attached to the great Brahmanas. The Upanishads, inspite of their close connection with Vedic schools, transcend in their ideas the school-limit and prepare the way for the systems of philosophy Theology and theosophy passed beyond the sphere of the old schools and were handed down in new forms of organisation. The study of metre (Prosody) was encouraged by the mystic importance attached in Vedic times to metre of the sacred texts, and ছন্দ (metrics) is reckoned as one of the six vedangas, but its character and importance were early affected by the need of affording guidance to writers of Kavya and other forms of literature. Poetics was hardly Vedic and represents an independent secular science অৰ্থশাস্ত্র or নৌতিশাস্ত্র has connection with ধৰ্মশাস্ত্র and কামশাস্ত্র was taught along with the primitive arthasastra under the ধৰ্মশাস্ত্র.

Sanskrit Lexicography (কোশ).

The oldest work on lexicography in India is recorded in the Nighantus (নিষ্ঠু's) or collections of Vedic terms, of which the most important are the lists in Jaska's nirukta Bana, Mayura, Murari and Sriharsha composed dictionaries of terms for use in double meanings (শ্লেষাৰ্থ-পদসংগ্ৰহ) The নিষ্ঠু's further contained not merely a nominal but also

verbal forms, the कार्यs only nouns and indeclinables Of lexicons two main classes exist—synonymous, in which words are grouped by subject matter, and homonymous (अनेकार्थ नानार्थ), but all important synonymous dictionaries usually include a homonymous section Names of Lexicons (1) Katyayana's नामाना (2) वाचप्रतिस शब्दार्थ (3) विज्ञमानित्र's संसारार्थ (4) व्याख्यात्रिस उपालिनी All these books are not yet printed (5) नामगित्रामूलानाम of अमरसिंह (usually called अमरकोश) of about 500 A D occupies the same dominant position in lexicography as does the अष्टाध्यायी of Panini in grammar The work is synonymous arranged in three books by subjects with an appendix in the last on homonyms indeclinables and genders शिरशाविन् is its best commentator विकाओद्धेश of पुक्षवोत्तमदेश is its supplement अनेकार्थ मूलक्रम of शाखत is older than अमरकोश (7) अभिवानरस्त्रमाला of ह्लादी dates from about 950 A D (8) About a century later is यादवप्रकाश & दैषवर्ती (9) विश्वप्रदाश of खदेशरकवि dates from 1111 A D (10) महावा अनेकार्थकोश was composed in Kashmir about 1110 A D (11) Hemachandra composed four dictionaries (1) अभिवान चिह्नाण (on synonyms) (2) अनेकार्थम् श्रह (homonyms) (2) लोकान्माना (a dictionary on Prakrit words) and (4) विष्टृश्वेष a botanical glossary which forms a supplement to his अभिवानचिह्नाण

Treatises on metre

Sections of the शास्त्राधिनामीतद्वत् the निदानशूल the अस्त्रप्रातिशाखा and कार्यान्म Anukramanis to the Rig-

veda and yajurveda deal with metre. The topic ranks as the वेदामृच्छनः and a sutra of this name is ascribed to Pingala, but the पिंगलामृच्छनः सूत्र is far more concerned with classical than Vedic texts. Pingala is earlier than भूरत whose आर्यमाट्याश्चात्र in chapters XIV and XV deal with metre. The शतर्वाद, ascribed to Kalidasa, illustrates while describing the verses. A chapter (104) in the युद्धसंहिता of वराहगिरिह describes metres simultaneously with planetary movements. खेण्टे in his सूत्रतिनक describes the metre with illustrations from his own works. हेमचन्द्र wrote छन्दोहम्म-शासन, देहाराष्ट्र wrote बृत्तरामाकर (giving 136 metres) and गम्भीराम wrote छन्दोमञ्जरी.

Grammar.

Before বাস্তু we had the terms নামন् (noun), সর্বনামন্ (pronoun), আধ্যাত (verb), উপদর্গ (preposition) and নিপাত (particle) Analysis of forms was added by বাস্তু in the Nirukta. শাকটায়ন noted that all nouns are derived from verbs This was opposed by গার্গ্যা, but the উৎ দিক্ষুএ deriving words from verbs by unusual affixes confirmed the opinion of শাকটায়ন We get then the পদপাঠ of the Rigveda by শাকল্য and the প্রাতিশাখ্যস on the Rigveda and the Taittiriya and Vaja Saneyi Sahitas and the শিক্ষাস. A regular Scintific treatise on grammar was the অষ্টাধ্যায়ী of Panini consisting of about 4000 short sutras divided into 8 books in the 4th century B C Panini cites by name many predecessors such as শাকটায়ন, আপিশলি, পৌনক and others He was a native of শালাতুর near the modern Atak, where-

HuenT sang saw a statue to his memory His mother was ଦ୍ୱାର୍ତ୍ତି and a legend ascribes his death to a lion Panini refers to the ଉଣାଦିଶ୍ଵର the ଗଣପାଠ and the ଧାତୁପାଠ In 1140 A D ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନାନ metrically arranged the ମାପାଠ in his ଗଣରତ୍ନମହୋଦୟି The ପରିଭାଷେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟର of ନାଗାଞ୍ଜିଟ୍ଟ ରୁହିନ୍ଦୁର ନାଗାଞ୍ଜିଟ୍ଟ ରୁହିନ୍ଦୁର is a collection of the rules of interpretation of ପରିଭାଷାଃ We have the ବାର୍ତ୍ତିକାଃ or notes of କାତ୍ଯାଯନ (300 B C) on 1243 of Panini's Sutras Patanjali in the second century B C composed the ମହାଭାଷ୍ୟ with supplementary comment of his own The ମହାଭାଷ୍ୟ was commented on in the 7th century A D by ଭର୍ତ୍ତର ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର in his ବାକ୍ୟପଦୀନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତିର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତିର in three books of verse which is concerned with the philosophy of grammar and by କୈକ୍ରଟ at about the 13th century A D The first complete commentary of the ଅଷ୍ଟାଧ୍ୟାଧୀନି of ପାଣିନି called କାର୍ତ୍ତିକା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତିର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତିର and ବାନିନ ବାନିନ was composed at about 600 A D The ଅନ୍ତିମା କୌମୁଦୀ of Ramachandra was the first attempt to make Panini's grammar easier by a more practical arrangement of its subject matter in the 15th century A D ଭଟ୍ଟାଜୀ ଦାନ୍ତିକୌମୁଦୀ of the 17th century A D has a similar aim

Amongst non Paninian grammarians may be mentioned କଶିଲ (about 60) A D ଶାକଟାୟନ (later than Kasil a) and ହେମକଶି (12th century A D) author of a Prakrit grammar and the ଉଣାଦିଶ୍ଵର The କାତ୍ତନ୍ତିର ମର୍ମବର୍ଣ୍ଣନ୍ (usually called କୋମି ଏ or କଳାପବାକରଣ) seems to have been the most influential of later grammars ବରଙ୍ଗଚିତ୍ତ ପ୍ରାଚୁତ ଅକାଶ is a ପ୍ରାଚୁତ ବ୍ୟାକରଣ The ମୁଖ୍ୟାଧ୍ୟର ବୋପଦେବ is only a partial work on grammar The କିଟ୍ଟଶ୍ଵର later than Patanjali gives rules for accentuation of nouns

Hemchandra's *लिङ्गार्थासन्* is a treatise on genders of words. The *सुगन्धा* of *पद्मनाभदत्त* and *संस्कृष्टदात्र* of *अनन्दीश्वर* are short treatises on grammar.

Civil & Religious Law (धर्मशास्त्र)

Origin of Law : With composition of Sutras on matters of ritual there were included in them instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds, including matters which more advanced civilisation would classify as questions of etiquette and social usage, moral, legal or religious. Of course in such rules were included regulations of all issues affecting caste, especially the vital one of marriage, and these books came to serve as rudimentary texts on law. Sutras of this kind were called *धर्मसूत्र*s as contrasted with those dealing with the more formal and domestic ritual which were called *श्रोतुष्ट्र*s and *गृहसूत्र*s. Thus the whole text called *कल्पसूत्र* was divided into three classes viz. *श्रोतुष्ट्र*, *गृहसूत्र* and *धर्मसूत्र*. They were composed, in prose as briefly as possible, often with verses here and there to justify a doctrine or sum it up effectively. Amongst the old *धर्मसूत्र*s which were the original sources of Hindu law, we have the *गोतम-धर्मसूत्र* (which now goes by the name of *गोतम धर्मशास्त्र*) belonging to the *ब्राह्मणीय* school of the *सामवेद* and the *शारीत धर्मसूत्र* (now called *हारीत धर्मशास्त्र*) in 30 chapters. The *वासिष्ठ धर्मशास्त्र*, preserved in fragmentary and interpolated manuscripts speaks, of the above two *धर्मसूत्र*s. It mentions *Manu* as an authority and it belongs according to *कृष्णरिलभट्ट* to a lost *Rigveda* School, the *Vasistha*. The

बोधायन धर्मशास्त्र and the आपस्तम्बीय धर्मशास्त्र are sutras of the schools of the ऋथयजुर्वेद The chool of हिताकैवल्यम् is closely akin to the Apastamba. The dates of these works cannot be placed later than 4th or 5th century B C. The Vaishnava dharma sastra goes back to a धर्मशास्त्र of the Kathaka school of the Black Yajurveda just as the शत्रैत धर्मशास्त्र represents the वैदिकायनीय school. The वैदिकायनस धर्मशास्त्र, in three chapters deals with the duties of the castes and of the different stages of the life of the Brahman. It has the appearance of a late work drawn up in the sutra style. The dharma sutras of Paithinasi, attached to the अथर्ववेद of शङ्क लिपित लिपित attached to the उक्तयजुर्वेद of उमासू of काशीप and of बृहस्पति are high authorities on Hindu law. We see that there developed at an early date the tendency to study law in the widest sense of the term in special schools not content to adopt the practices of any single Vedic school. To the activities of these schools we owe the vast amount of didactic verses we find in the Mahabharata and in later law books.

मनुस हि-1 (or पश्चात्याकृति) universally known as मानवधर्मशास्त्र is the work of मनु in accordance with the teaching of his master Manu. The genuine work on Hindu law as taught by saint Manu was the मनिवधर्मशास्त्र which is a branch of the Maitrayaniya school of the Black Yajurveda. We often find reference to बृहस्पति and बृहस्पति containing 100000 verses which saint Narada reduced to 12000 in his नरदिपि saint मार्दगेष्व reduced it to 8000 and saint Sumati son of saint Bhrigu reduced it to 4000 stanzas, while the present पश्चात्याकृति

of ভৃগু is reduced to 2684 stanzas. Three books of the Mahabharata contain as many as 260 stanzas out of 2684 stanzas of the present ভৃগুসংহিতা. The সংগ্ৰহিতা, according to the scholars of the west, assumed its present shape not later than the second century A. D. Codes of নৃ, বাজ্জব্ধু and নাবন are metrical rendering of either the মানবধ্যস্তুত্র or poetical redactions of the বৃক্ষ-সমূহস্তুতি or বৃহগ্নসমূহস্তুতি. Saint পরাশর, a lawgiver, says that the মানবধ্যশাস্ত্র was for the golden age (মত্যুগ), that the গৌতম ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the silver age (ত্রেতাযুগ), that শ্বেতালিখিত ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the copper age (দ্বাপর যুগ) and পারাশর ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the iron age (কলিযুগ). The বাজ্জব্ধু ধর্মশাস্ত্র containing 1009 stanzas is based on the ধর্মস্তুত্র of the Yajurveda. The third section of this Sanhita resembles the পারম্পর গৃহস্তুত্র, but it is really based on the মানব ধর্মস্তুত্র of the কৃষ্ণসূর্ণিদেব. It was composed about 350 A. D. The author belonged to Mithila, now Tirhut. The নাবন সংহিতা was the first to limit ধর্ম to law in the strict sense. It was composed about 500 A. D. The পারাশরস্তুতি was a later work.

The second stage of legal literature was formed by the commentaries. The oldest is the মেধাভিথিভাষ্য of the সংগ্ৰহিতা of about 800 A. D., কুলুক্তুটি's মৰ্মসূত্রবলী of the 15th century is only a plagiarism of গৌবিন্দব্রাজ' s commentary of the 12th century. The most celebrated commentary on the বাজ্জব্ধুস্তুতি is the শিতামুরি of বিজ্ঞানেশ্বর composed about 1100 A. D. It attained the position of a standard work in the Deccan, in Benares and a great part of the আৰ্য্যবৰ্ত্ত. From about 1000 A. D. an innumerable multitude of legal com-

pendia called ধৰ্মনিয়ক was produced. The চতুর্বর্ণচিন্তামণি of হেমাত্রি in 5 parts of about 1300 A.D. is the most imposing of them. The ধৰ্মবৃত্তবাহন (of about the 15th century A.D.) is also important, a part of it the পূর্বভাগ being the chief work of the Bengal school on the law of inheritance. The বৃহস্পতিমূলক is almost a *Vartika* (বার্তিকা) on *Manu* whom it supplements. But in legal view it is distinctly more advanced. It was composed between the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The commentary of শাক্ত on the পাত্ৰাধৰ্মকৃত in the fourteenth century is an authoritative work. In his শুভিকল্প লক্ষ্মাধৰ includes religious as well as civil and criminal law and the law of procedure. ইলায়ুম্ব আদ্যাসৰ্বদ্য composed for king রাজেশ্বরে of Bengal deals with the whole duty of a Brahman and is in minor degree a law book. মদনপাত্ৰিকাত of বি. পুৰুষ (1360—1370 A.D.) written mainly on religious duties is also a very useful treatise on the law of succession. The 28 treatises called রংগোৎসব of Raghu nandana উপর্যুক্তি of the 15th century A.D. are now the authorities in Bengal as regards rituals, procedure, succession and inheritance.

The Science of Politics and practical life (অৰ্থশাস্ত্ৰ নীতিশাস্ত্ৰ) Origin of অৰ্থশাস্ত্ৰ Vedic literature affords a quite false impression of the Vedic Indian as a person given to reflection and religious practices without regard to practical life. The East confronted Alexander with an obstacle which he did not attempt to penetrate and his garrisons had soon after his death to be withdrawn. To judge India a right

we must add two other objects to the धर्म, religious and moral duty which is dwelt on in Vedic texts. The सूक्तःसंग्रहः speaks of the three objects in life, धर्म, राज्य (politics and practical life in general) and लोक (love). The epics, Vishnu Smriti, Manusmriti, Patanjali-Mahabharsha, dramatists, fiction literature, all speak of them. The राज्यas deal with royal duties, capitals and countries, officials, taxes, and military preparations as they do with justice, and the epic, in a list of authorities of the science of kings (धर्मशास्त्र) includes वृश्णिः, शशिर्षः, विश्वामित्रः, राजा (राज्यशास्त्र) and विश्वामित्रः, who presides also for authorities on धर्म. Gradually there sprang up schools who studied धर्म and राज्य. Doctrines of धर्म found, like those on धर्म, expression in didactic verse. The Mahabharata assures us that ब्रह्म (the creator) was the author of a work in 100,000 sections on धर्म, धर्म and राज्य, that ब्रह्म (as विश्वामित्र) reduced it to 10000 in consideration of the brevity of life, that ईश्वर brought it down to 5000 and that finally Indra's work (called वात्स्यायन) was reduced by वृश्णिः to 3000 and by विश्वामित्र to 1000 sections. From the वृश्णिः वात्स्यायन we know वृश्णिः, वात्स्यायन, विश्वामित्र, वात्स्यायन and विश्वामित्र as authorities, and the धर्मशास्त्र of Vatsyayana ascribes धर्म to Manu, धर्म to वृश्णिः and राज्य to Nandin. The Mahabharata contains sections dealing with polity. The धर्मशास्त्र is variously called नीतिशास्त्र (science of conduct), राजनीति (conduct of kings), and राजनीति (policy of punishment) and it was honoured by the Hindus. But the Buddhists hotly denounced राजनीति and condemned नीतिशास्त्र भास

cites a वाह्यात्मा अर्थशास्त्र as an object of study by Brahamans क्रोतिनौप्र अर्थशास्त्र is one of the most interesting works in Sanskrit as it affords a vast amount of detailed information about the practical side of Indian life as opposed to the spiritual and covering ground touched on in the treatises on धर्म and it does so with a wealth and accuracy of detail which is completely other than the often vague generalities the stock in trade of these texts It is divided into 15 great sections (अधिकरण) and 180 subdivisions (अधिकरण) crossed by chapters (अध्याय) Through misunderstanding it is often compared to the works of Machiavelli as the work is in no sense intended as a treatise on political philosophy The अर्थशास्त्र accepting the existence of the three aims of life—धर्म अर्थ and कर्म holds अर्थ as the most important It holds government as most essential for without it there would be the reign of anarchy Under the sceptre all castes and their ordered ways of life prosper—धर्म, अर्थ and कर्म are fulfilled By state the अर्थशास्त्र means an order of society which the state does not create but which it exists to secure The ways of a king are dictated by the necessity of preserving the royal power and the king's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is the protector gives him a morality of his own The end i.e maintenance of a firm rule justifies the means Of course in the use of means to secure obedience and to defeat enemies the अर्थशास्त्र is as ruthless as Machiavelli Spies abound the harem and

the royal family are suspect and princes are deliberately debauched to prevent their rending their parents. Orthodox as is the अर्थशास्त्र, it advocates the shameless use of religion as a cloak for baseness. It gives us names of several kings who came to grief by one fault or another. The अर्थशास्त्र recognises the risks of a king from court-intrigues, military oligarchical factions, false ministers, unruly heads of gilds. It recognises the king as no more than a servant of the state, but of control by the people or constitutional limitations it knows nothing. The authorship of the अर्थशास्त्र is attributed to चार्णक, or विक्रुष्णप्ति or कोटिश, minister of king Chandragupta in the 4th century B.C. Both the text and the comment are ascribed to him.

Later treatises Based mainly on the अर्थशास्त्र is the नौतिसाब of कामदकि who hails चार्णक as his master. It is not merely a redaction of the अर्थशास्त्र. (2) Much more interesting is the नौतिवाक्यामृत of मोगदेव सूर्वि, the author of the यश्चिलक, who lets us know that he wrote that work before his treatise on royal duties. Deeply as he is indebted to the अर्थशास्त्र, his spirit is quite different. Of Brahmanical texts we have the युक्तिबहुतक्ष ascribed to king भोज and the नौतिवस्त्राक्ष of चण्डेश्वर the jurist. Like नौतिप्रकाशिका, the शुद्धनार्ति is a work of quite late date which mentions the use of gunpowder and as such is of no value as evidence for early Indian usage or philosophy.

Ancillary Sciences.

The अर्थशास्त्र included धनुर्वेद (archery) which was an

old and respectable science amongst the warlike people. Its authors include विद्युनान्त, सरावन and शास्त्रदर्श शिल्पान्त (architecture) or शिल्पान्त including वास्तुविज्ञान represented by various anonymous works including the Mayāmita मायामिता Manasara and ऐक्ष्यावास्तुशिल्प (16th century) Elephants are described in the हस्तायुद्धेन in a dialogue between king ब्रोमपाद of अश्व and the ancient sage पालिक्या. The शास्त्रदर्श of नारायण recognises Palikrypa's claim to be the father of the science. The अश्वशास्त्र (Science of horses) is ascribed to sage शानिरोत्र who is often cited as a patron of learning in respect of elephants and other animals. He is often called अश्वदेव and his work is called अश्वायुद्धेन. We have also the अश्वायुद्धेन of गृण the अश्वदेव of उद्धव and of दीपकर the याग्मित्री of वर्द्धमान and the अश्वचिकित्सा of Nakula. The अश्वशास्त्र or अश्वप्रौढ़ी developed and वराहमित्र shows himself familiar with the examination of Jewels. The अग्निमित्त the अश्वप्रौढ़ी of दुष्कृति and the अश्वप्रौढ़ी of नारायण पण्डित are principal works of this science. The युद्धाचित्र reminds us of the science of stealing. The सम्मुखद्वारा is a treatise on the science of stealing even by magic. As to the science of music we have the समीत्रप्रसाद of शास्त्रदेव (13th century) the गवीतपूर्ण of दामोदर and the गागविदोध of सोमनाथ (1609). On printing the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर of early date contains a section

The Science of Love

The third of the aims of man is love (काम) and this subject is explained in Indian Sastra along with धर्म and

ଅର୍ଥ The ଅର୍ଥଶାସ୍ତ୍ର is intended for kings and ministers
 nay for those who devote themselves to politics,
 and the science of love (କାମଶାସ୍ତ୍ର) is to be studied by men
 of taste (ନାଗରକ୍ସ) who desire to practise refinement
 and profit to the most by their knowledge of all that
 is meant by love. In order to be an accomplished
 man, one had to study the science of love along
 with ଧର୍ମ and ଅର୍ଥ for the study of it will be to induce
 a man who practises love to remember during it the
 claims of the other sides of human activity, ଧର୍ମ and ଅର୍ଥ,
 so that he will observe due moderation. The morality
 of the work is that of the ଅର୍ଥଶାସ୍ତ୍ର, on the principle
 that 'all's fair in love and war'. ନ୍ୟୁତ୍ୟାନ ମର୍ଯ୍ୟାଣୀ, the
 devout ascetic teacher, who assigns କାମଶାସ୍ତ୍ର to the
 general head of medicine, assures us that it teaches
 that nothing but sorrow results even from all the
 refinements taught in the text Vatsyayana's
 Kamasutra is the earliest work we have on କାମଶାସ୍ତ୍ର.

—

Lecture 8.

PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION.

Beginnings of Indian Philosophy :

The religious and philosophical spirit of India, in
 the process of development in the Veda, found
 brilliant literary exposition in the Upanishads and
 after the period of the Upanishads dates the time

when ideas of earlier thinkers were gradually taken up and made into definite systems, called धर्म, taught in philosophic schools in the sense of a series of teachers who expounded and developed definite bodies of doctrine. After the existence of this development for some time, ultimately there came a desire to fix in definite form the doctrines of the schools which led to the composition of the sutras. Later we find independent works of the several schools. They recognise the authority of the sutras and make it clear that it was held that in them lay the essential doctrines of the schools which might be expounded and explained but were not to be contradicted.

Different schools of philosophy —The latest hymns of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain speculations on the origin of the world and on the eternal principle by which it is created and maintained. The यजुर्वेद further contains cosmogonic legends describing how the Creator produced every thing by means of the omnipotent sacrifice (यज्ञ) With these Vedic ideas are intimately connected those of the earlier Upanishads. This philosophy is essentially pantheistic and idealistic. By the side of it grew up an atheistic and empirical school of thought which towards the close of the 6th and in the 5th centuries B C, furnished the foundation of the two great heterodox (नार्थक) religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism.

CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY (भारत-दर्शनानि)

PHILOSOPHY (दर्शनम्)

orthodox philosophy
(आचिक दर्शनानि – believing in and
admitting of the authority of
the Vedas, including Brahmanas
and Upanishads)

Heterodox or heretic philosophy defying
the authority of the Vedas and admitting
no God (नाचिक-दर्शनानि)

चार्वाकदर्शन
बौद्धदर्शन
(Buddhistic philosophy) (Jain philosophy)
of Gautama Buddha of गौतमी वैरोचन
of चार्वाक
of जैन
of बौद्ध

सांख्यादर्शन (Sankhya philosophy)	योगदर्शन (Yoga philosophy)	न्यायादर्शन (Nyaya philosophy)	वैराग्यिक दर्शन (Vaisesika philosophy)	पूर्ववेशागामीदर्शन (Purvamī mansī philo- sophy) of Kanada (कनाद)	पूर्ववेशागामीदर्शन (Purvamī mansī philo- sophy) of Jaimini (जैमीनि)	उत्तरवेशागामीदर्शन or वेदान्तदर्शन (Vedānta philosophy) of पातञ्जलि
कपिला	पातञ्जलि	गृहुतमा		संकारचार्या (संकारचार्य)	विनिष्ठोदेवताद	देवतादेवताद
					of कार्याचार्य	of कार्याचार्य

N. B. In the Upanishads, philosophical speculations appear in a rather chaotic condition. They were first systematised in manuals called the Sutras. Altogether there are nine schools of which six belong to the orthodox school, admitting of the authorities of the Vedas. Amongst the six orthodox systems, the most important are the pantheistic Vedanta and the atheistic Sankhya. On the latter were based the two heterodox religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism which denied the authorities of the Vedas and opposed the Brahmanic caste system and ceremonials. Still more heterodox was the materialistic philosophy of the Charvaka school which went further and denied even the fundamental doctrines common to all other schools of thought in India—viz. the belief in the transmigration of the soul (जन्मान्तरवाद) and the belief in salvation (मुक्ति or निर्वाण) or release from transmigration.

Doctrine of Transmigration of the soul :
 All creatures must reap the fruit of their actions (अद्वैतवाद) It is by the merit (पूर्णा) or demerit (पाप) of their own actions that creatures undergo different existences (पूनर्जन्म) from the highest to the lowest (आवश्यकत्व पर्याप्त) and *viceversa*. Actions are either सकाम (with some motive) or निष्काम (without any motive). All motiveless works (निष्कामकर्म), done with the single idea that it is one's duty (कर्तव्य), lead the doer to final beatitude (मोक्ष) in the long run. This state of perfect bliss or emancipation (मोक्ष) is attained when one has his perfect knowledge roused.

up (ଅଭିନାଶେଷକ) He is then free from all rebirth (ପୂର୍ବଜୀବ or ମୃତ୍ୟୁ) and is eternal, fully conscious and full of bliss (ମତ୍ତିବାନଳ ସକଳ) So long as this state of perfection is not attained all creatures have to travel from one life to another according to the merit (ପୂର୍ବଜୀବ) or demerit (ପାପ) earned by their own actions This is transmigration of the soul (ପୂର୍ବଜୀବ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ) This doctrine dates from the time of the Veda The Buddha embraced it in the 6th century B C

six schools

of orthodox philosophy (ଆଧିକ ସର୍ବାଦିନାମି)

1 The Purva mimansa (ପୂର୍ବମୀମାନ୍ୟ ଦର୍ଶକ) This system is attributed to sage Jaimini (ଜୈମିନି) It originated before the beginning of the christian era It is concerned with the practical side of the Vedic religion The oldest work on it is the ପୂର୍ବମୀମାନ୍ୟ ପୂଜ୍ୟ of saint ଜୈମିନି This system discusses the sacred ceremonies and the rewards resulting from their performance Holding the Veda to be uncreated and existent from all eternity, it lays special stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal (ଶର୍ଵୋ ନିଃତ୍ୟ) and on the consequent doctrine that the connection of a word with the thing signified is not due to convention (ସଂକେତ) but is by nature inherent in the word itself The sutras were commented on by Updavarsha (ଉପଦଵର୍ଷ) and later by Sabara Swamin (ଶବରା ସ୍ଵାମିନ୍) Sabara

Swamin knew the nihilistic school of Buddhism and the idealistic and as such he could not but have a definite theory of the soul as produced from the absolute Brahman (ब्रह्म) and as existing independently for ever. On the Bhasya (भाष्य) of Sabaraswamin two different systems were founded, one by Prabhakara (प्रभाकर, 600 A D.) in his Brihati (बृहता), the other by Kumarila Bhatta (कुमारिल भट्ट) about 700 A D. Kumarila's comment falls into three parts, the slokavartika (श्लोकवार्तिक), the tantra vartika (तंत्रवार्तिक) and Tup-tika (ट्रृप्तिकीका). He refutes the doctrine of the omniscience of the Buddha and declares empirical means of knowledge worthless. As a native of southern India he recommends that borrowed words should be given Sanskrit terminations. In spite of vast differences in philosophical doctrine both Prabhakara and Kumarila Bhatta agree in holding with Sabaraswamin that the individual soul (जीवात्मा) in some sense is immortal and they do not accept the doctrine of illusion [The scholar एश्वर्पितिमिश्र set forth Kumarila's views in his उद्धविन्. Of late works the शारामानाविद्युत of माधव (14th century A D), the शीरांसानायाप्रकाश of आपद्वेब and the अर्थसंग्रह of लोगान्नि भास्कर are best known, but of more philosophic interest is नारायणभट्टे's शानदेश्योदय (1600 A D.) in which Kumarila's epistemology and metaphysics are very interestingly summarised].

2. The उत्तरमीमांसादर्शन (The Vedanta Philosophy) : The Uttaramimansa or the Vedanta philosophy represents a definite gathering up of the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads in an attempt to frame a

system embracing them all. The Brahmi sutra (ब्रह्मसूत्र) of saint Bidarayana Vyasa (शिवानन्दव्यास) deliberately leaves out points on which the Purvamimansa of Jaimini has sufficient matter. The doctrine of Bidarayana evidently directs itself strongly against the Sankhya system and the atomism of the Vaisheshikas. The doctrines laid down in the Brahmi sutra have been fully explained by Sankaracharya (शंकराचार्य) in the 8th century A D. Its epitome is found in the वेदान्तस्त्रीय of शंकराचार्य. The fundamental doctrine expressed in the famous formula—तत् त्वं असि (thou art that) is the identity of the individual soul (जीवात्मन्) with God the supreme soul (परमात्मन्). The eternal and infinite Brahman not being made up of parts or not being liable to change the individual soul (जीवात्मन्) cannot be a part or emanation of it but it is the whole indivisible Brahman. As there is no other existence but Brahman the Vedanta is styled अद्वैत अस्त्वाद (or doctrine of nonduality ; i.e an idealistic monism) The evidence of experience which shows a multiplicity of phenomena and the statements of the Veda which teach a multiplicity of souls are brushed aside as the phantasmagoria of a dream which are only true till waking (अवकाश) takes place. The ultimate cause of all such false impressions is अविज्ञा or innate ignorance. It is on account of our innate ignorance (अविज्ञा) that we cannot recognise this world as mere illusion (मात्रा). This universe is really a mirage (वृग्गात्मा) which the soul under the influence of desire (दृष्टि) fancies it perceives just as the panting hart sees before it sheets of

water in the *satamorganā* (सत्तमरौचिका). The illusion vanishes as if by a magic when the scales fall from the eyes on the waking of true knowledge (तत्त्वज्ञान). Then the semblance of any distinction between the soul (जीवज्ञान) and God (परमात्मा) disappears and मोक्ष (moksha) the primary end of man (परमपूरुषवार्थ) is attained. Two forms of knowledge (विद्या) are distinguished here, one higher (पर्वा विद्या) and another lower (अपर्वा विद्या). The former is concerned with the higher, impersonal Brahman (परमात्मन्) which is without form or attribute (अरूप, अणुष), while the latter deals with the lower and personal Brahman who is the soul of the universe and grants salvation [The doctrine of nonduality and illusion. This view is preserved for us in a definite shape in the *Mandukya Karikas* of गोडपाद who was the teacher of गोरिन्द, the teacher of the great शक्त्राचार्य. The full defence and exposition of the doctrine of illusion with its insistence on अद्वैत (absence of any duality) is due to Sankaracharya (788—820 A. D.) Sankara's अद्वैतवाद in the शारीरवत्तात्म्य of the ऋग्वेद has been clearly explained by गौडपाद in the पक्षपादिका, by श्वरेश्वर in the नैष्ठर्यसिद्धि, and by वाचप्पति गिर्ण in his भागवती. गाधव, in his पक्षदृशी, written in part with भारतीतीर्थ, and जीर्णज्ञिविवेक definitely supports Sankara's views. The वेदान्तसार of सदानन्द shows the elaborate confusion of Sankhya tenets with the Vedanta and the वेदान्तप्रिभाषा of धर्मराज is only a manual of the modern school.]

Ramanuja (वामानुज) : A very different view of the Upanishads and the Sutra is presented by Ramanuja,

who died about 1137 Son of कृष्ण and काञ्चित्प्रति he studied at Kanchi under the Advaita (अद्वैत) philosopher वामदेवकार्ण, but abandoned his teaching for that of शून्यातार्थी whom he succeeded as head of a Vaishnava (वैष्णव) sect and at whose request he wrote his विचार on the Brahma Sutra Amongst other works he wrote a गीताभाष्य attacked in the व्याख्या न यह the illusion theory summarised his भाव in the वेदानुशासन and gave a convenient summary of his doctrine in the वेदानुशासन His views were defended against those of शुक्रार्थार्थी in the वेदानुशासन of शून्यतार्थी and expounded in the यतोऽनुभवीपिका of विनिवाच Ramanujā claims to represent a long tradition citing the वाक्यात्मक the वृत्तिकार व्याख्यान, and ज्ञानात्मक who was known to शुक्र and he relies on the शास्त्रियज्ञान as revealing the true doctrine of the Sutra In essentials he differs from Sankara , if in a sense there is an absolute whence all is derived the individual souls and matter still have a reality of their own and the end of life is not merging in the absolute but continued blissful existence This state is to be won by faith (अक्षर) in and devotion (भक्ति) to God His view of matter permits him to adopt largely the Sankhya principles No other comment can be compared in importance with those of शुक्र and ग्रामानुष्ठ अनुष्ठ the former representing the most sustained intellectual effort of Indian thought the latter representing a theory of the world which has many similarities to the popular christian belief and which may actually have been affected by christian thought

মধ্বাচার্য (Madhwacharya) or আনন্দতীর্থ (Anandatirtha) . More distinct is the dualism of Madhwacharya or Anandatirtha (1197 1276 A.D.) who commented on seven of the important upanishads, the Gita, the Brahmasutra and the Bhagavata Purana, while a number of independent tracts, including the তত্ত্বসংখ্যান, set out his principles briefly. What he insists on is the existence of five fundamental dualisms (দ্বিত্ব), whence his system derives its name (দ্বিতাত্ত্ববাদ), as opposed to the অদ্বিত্ববাদ of Sankara and the বিশিষ্টাদ্বিত্ববাদ (qualified nondualism or the nonduality of that which is qualified) of Ramanuja. A summary of the views of মধ্বাচার্য is given in the মকলাচার্যমতসংগ্রহ of শ্রীনিবাস

যোগবাণিষ্ঠ: It is not much distinguished from the Vedanta and is reputed as an appendix to the Ramayana, dealing with all manner of topics including final release. The জৈগ্ননিভারত is intended as a text book of a Vaishnava sect. The Vedanta at last comes down to three classes, the একবেদান্ত, the বৈষ্ণববেদান্ত and the শৈব-বৈদিক and the last was the source of the tantra schools.

Logic and Atomism.

3 and 4. Logic and Atomism (শাস্ত্রদর্শন, বৈশেষিকদর্শন) : The impulse to logic (শাস্ত্র) is found in the investigation of the Purva-mimansa school. The beginnings of the Nyaya sutra (শাস্ত্রস্তুত) are ascribed to Gotama (গোতম) 500 B.C., while true Nyaya is ascribed to অক্ষণ্পাদ (150 A.D.). The শাস্ত্রস্তুত, as we have it, is a compilation representing earlier thought. The বৈশেষিক-

सूत्र is like-wise more or less contemporaneous with the ग्रन्थ The शास्त्र gives us a logic, while the वैशेषिक represents a naturalistic view which finds in atoms (अणु) the basis of the material world , but both sutras accept in some measure the view of the other कण्ठा, the alleged author of the वैशेषिक सूत्र is a nickname and the सूत्र shows much unevenness of composition It believes in the real activity of the soul (denied by the Vedanta of शंकर) holds the effect to be different from the cause the qualities from the substance and accepts atoms The question of the original view of the two sutras as to God is disputed, both saying very little on the topic The शास्त्रवृत्ति found an expositor in पश्चिमामिन् वाच्चामि who wrote the शास्त्रवृत्ति before the Buddhist logician दिग्नामि उद्योगप्रभार्य भास्यामि in his शास्त्रवाचिक (620 A D) defended Vatsyayana and explained the sutra and Bhashya A further comment on this work was written by वाच्चप्रति विश्व (850 A D) in the शास्त्रवाचिकतांपर्यटीका on which उद्यन in the 10th century wrote the तांपर्य-परिशिद्धि उद्यन in his कृत्याम्बलि proved the existence of God दिग्नामि the chief of the Buddhist logicians lived about 400 A D A definite step in the history of the शास्त्र was marked in the तत्त्वचिन्तामणि of the great scholar गग्देश (1200 A D) in four books expounding the means of proof with subtlety permitted in the Nyaya and at the same time incidentally interpreting the metaphysics of the school His principal commentator was Raghunatha Siromani (ऋग्नाधिशिरोमणि) 1500 A D , on whom गग्देश commented (1700 A d)

and মুক্তানাম। In 16th century the Sanskrit schools (specially of শাস্ত্রধর্ম) of নবব্যাপ formed the centre of intellectual life in India. The বৈশেষিক শুক্ত was taken up and given new life by অশুক্তপাদ in his পদ্মাৰ্থধৰ্মসংগ্রহ, which is not a commentary on the sutra but a completely new exposition of the subject-matter of the বৈশেষিক শুক্ত with additions of importance. A commentary on his work, the শাস্ত্রকল্পনা of শ্রীদ্বাৰ �belongs to 991 A. D. We find in him the same view of theism and the addition of non-existence (অভাব) as a seventh to the six বৈশেষিক Categories substance (জ্ঞায়), quality (গুণ), action (গতি), generality (সামগ্ৰে), particularity (বিশেষ) (whence the name of the system is usually derived) and inseparable relation (i. e. inherence সম্বন্ধ) under which it classed all coherence. উদ্বৱ্ব also wrote a comment, কিৰণ্যাবলী, on অশুক্তপাদ's ভাষ্য and an independent text, the লক্ষণাবলী.

5 and 6. সাঙ্গ্য and যোগধৰ্ম (Sankhya and Yoga systems). While the বেদান্ত is a direct descendant of the Upanishad-discussions, and the systems of logic (জ্ঞায়) and atomism (বৈশেষিক) do not go out of their way to challenge orthodoxy, and ultimately adopt more and more the authority of the scripture, the Sankhya (সাঙ্গ্য) system in its original form marks a break with tradition. In place of the absolute of the Upanishads, the Sankhya postulates an infinite number of spirits (পুৰুষ or আত্মন्) and it divorces matter (অঙ্গতি) from the absolute, ascribing to it the power of evolution. Consciousness is explained by some form of contact between spirit (পুৰুষ or আত্মন্)

and matter (जड़त) and release (निर्जन) is attained when the unreality of any connection between the two is appreciated. The most important contribution to human thought made by the Sankhya philosophy is the conception of three गति (constituents) pervading nature (जड़त) and soul (जीव) alike. Here the Sankhya traces its basis to the Upanishads where water (जल) fire (ज्वर्ण) wind (वायु) धूम (ether) and earth (भूमि) are the fundamental elements derived from God or pervaded by Him. The founder of the ज्ञान philosophy was Kapila. The Kapila sutra was gradually interpreted by Asuri and Panchrisika charya. The गारुदास्तिका of देवदत्त with the commentary गारुदास्तिकाद्योहो of शोदि द्वितीय is the most popular treatise on the Sankhya philosophy. शान्तिकृ (usually called शान्तिकर्ण) in his commentary of the गारुदास्तिका seeks to deal with the Sankhya not as opposed to the Vedanta but as representing one aspect of the truth of that system. His गुरुगारुद is a brief introduction to the topic. The योग philosophy is closely allied with the Sankhya system. It tells us of the application of the will on the concentration of the mind whence it denotes concentration (ध्यान) and if the concentration aims at union with a deity as it may often have done, the sense may have come to be that of unity the result being put for the effort. The object of Yoga was primarily to secure by practices of repression of the breath, sitting in certain postures and deep concentration magic powers. It was developed under the Sankhya influence, the only

real difference being that the Yoga insists on finding a place for the deity as the 26th principle in addition to the 25 of the Sankhya. This spirit is in constant connection with subtle matter and possesses power, wisdom and goodness. The योग is thus the theistic Sankhya, while the योग appears to be non theistic. Both Sankhya and Yoga in fusion with Vedanta ideas appear largely in the epic philosophy, in the Puranas and the lawbook of Manu. The व्योगदर्शक is ascribed to saint Patanjali and its योग भावा to saint व्याघ्र. The Yoga system is therefore also called पातंजली-दर्शन. भोद्याज's व्याख्यार्थिक is an important comment on the Sutras. For information in detail regarding practices of योग, we must refer to द्वियोगप्रदीपिका of यात्यावामयोगीकृ. Other texts are the गोव्याशत्क and the धेरामसंहिता.

Heterodox or heretic Philosophy.

1. Buddhism. The Buddha and his pupils taught in Pali i.e. the spoken Prakrit. It was the मूलसर्वास्ति-वासिन्स who from the first period of their activity adopted Sanskrit as the language of the school and we have fragments of their canons from the उदानवर्ग, धर्मपद, एकोत्तरागम and नव्यागम as well as the बिन्दु texts. Much more important is the महाबल, a बिन्दु text of the लोटोत्तरवादिन् school of the महानाडिकृ which presents us with a partial Buddha biography including many जातक stories of the Buddha in previous births. In its account of the ten stages through which a बोधिन् must move to achieve Buddhahood it reveals a new

attitude The *लित्तिवित्तर* gives a biography of the Buddha altered in the sense of the Mahayana development of Buddhism The book is full of miracles It is written in prose in Sanskrit with verse portions in mixed sanskrit Its spirit of reverence of the Buddha corresponds to the artistic revolution of the *गक्तारण* art revealing the portrait of the Buddha The *महायानश्वेतपाद* of अवधेय is more simply philosophical and develops a very complex system of thought in which the influence of the Brahmanical absolute appears distinctly operative The अनुदास are numerous In addition to the अवदानश्वेत and the दिव्यावदान we have श्वावि शत्यवदान a collection of 22 tales in prose with verses अस्त्रकलावदान 34 legends in verse, and अतावदानान्तरा a collection of legends to explain certain ritual vows In काव्य style we have the अवदान अक्षमणि of polymath क्षेमेश्वर of Kashmir the 108th tale being added by his son श्रोमेश्वर with an introduction Of the अवदान अक्षमणि proper the *सत्तर्पुण्ड्रीक* occupies the most prominent place It is in prose with mixed sanskrit verse sections Of more philosophical content is the लक्षणात्मक अवदान in which nihilistic and idealistic doctrines are found The *पश्चमीश्वर नवाधानहृत्र* deals with the ten stages to Buddhahood The *सामिद्धिक* deals with meditation The अज्ञापारमिताः merely assert that intelligence the highest of the perfections (पारमिता) of the Buddha consists in the recognition of the vacuity (शून्यता) of everything The *माधुमिकहृत्र* of नागार्जुन brings out the views of the अज्ञापारमिताः far better He was a Brahman of the south and contemporary of अवधेय

To नागार्जुन are attributed also धर्मसंग्रह and शुद्धज्ञेय. The विज्ञानवाद school is represented by असद's वैदिक्यत्रयित्वा, part of the शोगाचारत्रयित्वा and the गहाधान चतुरालकार in verse with comment. Asanga's brother वसुवक्तु wrote गाधासंग्रह and the अभिधर्मकेश of which we have धर्मोनिक्त's व्याख्या in Sanskrit which is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the tenets of the मर्त्तास्त्रिवादिन् and other schools of the Hinayana. His परमार्थ-दर्शन is an attack on the Sankhya system.

2 Jainism : Jain philosophy, originally written in Prakrit, was driven by the advantage of Sanskrit to make use also of that language and in the એવાર્થાધિ-ગનઘ્રત્ર of ઉમાસ્વત્તિ (Umaswati) we find in sutras and commentary a very careful summary of the system. નન્દભાઈ wrote in the 7th century the આષ્ટુર્મીસાંસ્કૃતિકા on which અકલિક �commented. શ્રુતીની જાનાર્થ બelongs to 800 A.D. To સક્રન્કર્તિ in the 15th century we owe તત્ત્વાર્થારદીપિકા which contains a full account of the દિગદ્વારા sacred books. The Jain contribution to philosophy lies in the effort to solve the contrast between what is abiding and what passes away by insisting that there is an abiding reality, which, however, is constantly enduring change. But any serious development of metaphysics was prevented by the necessity of accepting as given the Jain traditional philosophy which could not be rationalised.

Buddhism and Jainism: On the Sankhya philosophy are based the two philosophical religions of Buddhism and Jainism. Their fundamental doctrine is that life is nothing but suffering. The cause

of this suffering is the desire based on ignorance, to live and enjoy the world. The aim of both is to redeem mankind from the misery of mundane existence by total annihilation of desire, with the aid of renunciation of the world and practice of unbounded kindness towards all creatures. These two religions are so very similar that the Jains or adherents of Mahavira (महावीर) were long looked upon as a Buddhistic sect. Both the religions deny the existence of an eternal supreme deity.

3. Charvakas (चार्वाक) or Lokayatas (लोकायत) — Materialists existed in early India and were condemned by Buddhists and Brahmins alike. They have no works and we have only summaries of their doctrines by their opponents. There is of course no doubt that works were current under the name of चूर्णपति. The term चार्वाक applied to it may have been due to a teacher of that name or be an abusive nick name from a famous infidel. The लोकायत or चार्वाक school was peculiarly heretical, for it not only rejected the authority of the Vedas and Brahmanical cere monials but denied the doctrines of transmigration and salvation accepted by all other systems. To this school matter is the only reality. Soul, according to this school is nothing but the body with the attribute of intelligence. चूर्णपति the founder of the चार्वाक school held the soul to be created when the body is formed by combination of the elements. The true nature of things is the cause from which all pheno mena proceed. On the moral side, the system is pure

hedonism, for the only end of man is here stated to be sensual pleasure and nothing else.

The eclectic movement—It is a doctrine that combines सांख्य, योग and वेदान्त (Sankhya, Yoga and 'Vedanta) together, the oldest literary representative being the श्वेताश्वत्र उपनिषद् (Swetaswatara Upanishad). More famous is the श्रीमद्भगवद् गीता (the gita) in which the supreme being incarnate as Krishna (कृष्ण) expounds to Arjuna (अर्जुन) his doctrine in this sense, the burthen of his teaching being that the zealous performance of his duty is a man's most important task to whatever caste or creed he may belong. There is a close resemblance between the bhakti doctrine proclaimed in the Gita and the christian ideas. From an inscription on a stone column found at Besnagar near Bhilsa, we know that in the second century B.C. even a Greek had adopted the Gita creed.

Historians of Philosophy . There is no regular history of Indian philosophy, the most that was achieved was the grouping of systems by reason of their similarities and accounts of contending views based on the desire to prove by this means the superiority of some doctrine or other. The common view of six orthodox systems grouped in pairs, (1) Purva mimansa and Vedanta, (2) Sankhya and Yoga and (3) Nyaya and Vaisesika, because they accept the Veda as authoritative, is not very early. In the नवदर्शनसिद्धान्त-संग्रह we find accounts of the लोकायतिक, the Jain system, the Buddhist schools, माध्यमिक, योगाचार्य, सौभाग्यिक and वैदेशिक, शाय, पूर्व-

ମୀମାଂସା (both of ଅଭାକର and କୁମାରିଙ୍ଗ schools), ସାଂକ୍ଷେତିକ ପାତଙ୍ଗମ (or Yoga) and Vedanta (of different schools) The ସର୍ବଦର୍ଶନମ୍ ଗ୍ରହ deals with the systems arranged from the point of view of relative error The ସର୍ବଦର୍ଶନମ୍ ଗ୍ରହ sets three vedic schools against three non vedic describes Jain Buddhist and materialist views and then sets out ବୈଶ୍ଵାକିକ and କ୍ଷାୟୀ as ଦେଖାଇଁ the theistic and atheistic ମୁଖୀ and ମୀମାଂସୀ ମୁଖୀ

Lecture 9

MEDICINE (ଆୟୁର୍ବେଦ)

Development of Indian medicine The ଆୟୁର୍ବେଦ or ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ, science of the doctor par excellence is an ଉପାଧି of the ଅଧିକରଣ and has eight topics major Surgery minor surgery healing of disease demonology children's diseases toxicology clixirs and aphrodisiacs Patanjali proves the early cultivation of the science in Sanskrit by mentioning ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ along with the ଅଶ୍ଵାସ and ଇତିହାସ ପୁରାଣ and ବାକୋବାକ୍ୟ ଆତ୍ମେ କାନ୍ତପ ହାରୀତ ଅଗ୍ନିଦେଖ and ଭେଦ were the sages who gave instruction on ଆୟୁର୍ବେଦ Amongst the sages ଆତ୍ମୋ is declared to have been the founder of the science The illustrious ଚାଣ୍କ୍ଯ is also credited with writing on medicine Buddhist tradition talks of ଛୌରକ a pupil of ଆତ୍ମୋ as an expert on children's diseases The ବିନ୍ଦୁପିଟିକ and other texts speak of a wide knowledge in elementary medicine surgical instruments the use of hot baths

&c. The oldest of the extant Sanhitas is the Charaka Sanhita (চারকসংহিতা) of চৰক who was a physician of king Kaniksha (কণিক) whose wife he cured in a critical case. It is said to have been revised and enlarged by মুবাগ, a Kasmirian, son of Kapilabala of the 8th century. শুভ্রত (Susruta) is equally famous with Charaka and is named with আত্মেন্দ্র and হার্বীত in the Bower manuscript, while the মহাভারত represents him to be a son of বিশ্বামিত্র and নাগাজুন is credited with having worked over his text. চক্রপাণি-দত্ত's commentary of the 11th century on সুভ্রতসংহিতা is well known. The older commentaries of বৈজ্ঞানিক, গুহদাম and চক্রপাণি-দত্ত have all been supplemented by the comment of Dallana (ডালন) of the 13th century. মাধব নিদান is the last treatise on medicine. Later medical works :

(1) অষ্টাদশ সংগ্রহ of বৃক্ষবাগ্ভট, (2) অষ্টাদশহস্তসংহিতা of বাগ্ভট, (3) ক্রগ্বিনিশয় of মাধবকুমাৰ, son of ইন্দুকুমাৰ, (is an important treatise on pathology) (4) চিকিৎসা-নামসংগ্রহ of চক্রপাণি দত্ত on therapeutics (1060 A. D), and (5) ভাবপ্রকাশ of ভাবমিশ্র (16th century) Historically important is the branch of Indian literature dealing with the merits of metallic preparations of which quick-silver (পারদ or প্রদেশিৰ) ranks first in importance. রসরস্তাকুমাৰ of নাগাজুন, প্রসাৰ্ব, রসস্তদ্য, রসরস্তম্ভুচ্ছয় of বাগ্ভট and রসেন্দ্রচিন্তামণি of ব্রাগচন্দ্ৰ are very important texts. There was a profound difference between the Greek and the Indian enumeration of bones in the body. But Greece borrowed from India the use of several medicinal plants.

Lecture 10

Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

1 Pre scientific period In India thought on astronomy was ever mixed with those on astrology and mathematics. In vedic period we find very little sign of astronomical study. The year is reckoned vaguely and the 27 nakshatras (lunar stations) are of dubious origin. At the close of the vedic period we have elaborate works on the calendar evinced in the sutras and summed up in the *জ্যোতিষবেদান্ত* preserved in two versions for the *ষষ্ঠুর্বেদ* and the *Rigveda*. We find here a calendar arranged on the basis of a five year yuga with a 366 day year notices of the position of the sun and moon at the solstices and at new moon (অবাধা) and full moon (পূর্ণিমা) with regard to the nakshatras (constellations). Some further development is found in the *গুগোল সংহিতা* and the *বৃক্ষগৰ্ভন্যহিতা*. The Jain text chiefly the *জ্যোতিষপ্রাপ্তি* is of this type. But all these texts seem to be ignorant of the mean motions of the sun and moon yet they contribute to the scientific period two ideas of great importance the conception of great *যুগ*s during which a complete change of the heavenly bodies is carried out so that a new yuga (যুগ) begins with all of them in the same places as the preceding yuga and the conception of the lunar day (তিথি) which is a 30th part of a synodical month. Distinctly interesting results were attained in geometry as a result

of the care taken in the measurement of altars The results of these measures are enshrined in the Sulba-sutras (ଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ) 200 B. C.). They are concerned with the construction of squares and rectangles, the relation of the diagonal to the sides, the equivalence of rectangles and squares and the construction of equivalent-squares and circles. We find the Pythagorean problem stated in general.

2 The period of Siddhantas Barahamihira (530 587 A, D) has preserved in his ପଞ୍ଚମିକାତ୍ତିକା information of the contents of five siddhantas of an earlier date Two of these siddhantas bear non-Indian names, the ରୋମକସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ and the ପୌଲିଶସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ The ଶ୍ର୍ଯୁସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ asserts that it was revealed by ଶ୍ର୍ଯୁଜୀ to ମର୍ଯ୍ୟାନ୍ତ ଅତ୍ୱର ରୋମକ. The ରୋମକ adopts not the Indian ସ୍ଵଗ୍ରୀୟ ଯୁଗ system but one of its own, namely the Metonic period of 19 years multiplied by 150 which gives the smallest ସ୍ଵଗ୍ରୀୟ ସଂକଳିତ ଯୁଗ exactly divisible into integral numbers of lunar months and civil days Further it makes calculations for the meridian of yavanapura (i. e. the city of the Greeks) and the Paulisa (ପୌଲିଶ i. e. of the Paulus Alexandrians), which does not adopt a constant yuga (ସ୍ଵଗ୍ରୀୟ), but operates with specially constructed short periods of time gives the difference in longitude between yavanapura and Ujjain Again the Romaka alone of Indian works operates with the tropical revolutions of the sun and moon, while the ଶ୍ର୍ଯୁସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ and the Paulisa deal with sidereal revolutions The ଶ୍ର୍ଯୁସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ shows the process of adaptation of the new science to Indian ideas It accepts the Kalpa system and gives a

general rule for the equation of the centre and its full treatment of eclipses contrasts with the meagre rules of the Romaka and the rough formulae of the Paulisa. The division of the ecliptic into the luminaries (नक्षत्र) yields to that into the signs of the zodiac (राशिक) with names from the Greek. The motions of the planets neglected hitherto come to be explained by the doctrine of epicycles, the notion of parallax and methods of calculating it were introduced, new methods of calculating eclipses appeared the heliacal rising & setting of heavenly bodies was studied, specially with astrological reference, correct measurements of day and night were achieved the length of the year was revised and the names of the planetary week days were introduced. Here we find in the Paulisa as also in the other Siddhantas an important contribution to trigonometry in the shape of a table of sines (which appears to have been borrowed from Ptolemy's table of chords differing from him by dividing the radius into 120 parts while Ptolemy divided it into 60 parts) and thus enabling the value given for the chords to be taken over bodily for the sines of half the angles. It is in वृश्चिक alone that we find the radius as 3438 with the necessary change of sine values. The exact mode and date of the introduction of these Greek elements according to Whitney fell in a period before the syntaxis of Ptolemy, for it was Ptolemy alone who first took into account the anomalies in planetary motions dependent on the distance of the planet from the sun and its distance from the apsis. The

Vasistha (वासिष्ठ) and the Paulisa siddhantas took note of planetary anomalies. The old and original वृद्धमिकाण्ड shows us a specifically Indian reaction ; it accepts where it thinks fit the new matter, but it fits it in as far as may be with the old. It reveals in the theory of Kalpas, restores the pre-eminence of mount Meru at the north Pole, finds room for the नक्षत्रः and so on. None of the Siddhantas which Barahamihira had before him has come down to us in its original form. We know that उत्तोःपल had before him a Paulisa so changed as to render the retention of the same name anomalous. The वैतामह-सिद्धान्तः of वराहग्निहितः differed little from the prescientific period. It differed from the अग्निसिद्धान्तः forming part of the विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण on which ऋग्वेदान्त's यूट्वान्तसिद्धान्तः is based and from the एकदिव्यसिद्धान्तः or शाकलयसिद्धान्तः, all of which present the orthodox modern doctrines. The रोमकसिद्धान्तः was touched up by लाट (505 A D.) and was later revised in the modern sense by श्रीदेव who wrote after लाट and before एकाण्डे. The वासिष्ठसिद्धान्तः appears before ऋग्वेदान्त's time to have been revised by विजयनन्दिन् and then by विष्णुधर्म. The वृद्धमिकाण्ड we have now is in many respects modernized from the original by लाट according to Alberuni.

Before the discovery of the पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका, the credit of introducing new ideas into Indian astronomy was given to आर्याषट्ट of कुसुमपुर (476-525 A D.). We have of him only the आर्याषट्टीयम् in the shape of 10 stanzas in आर्या वerses, the दत्तगीतिकाण्डत् wherein he gives his numerical notation, and the आर्याषट्ट (in 108 आर्या

verses) divided into the गणित (33 stanzas on mathematics) 25 stanzas on measurement of time (वार्षिकी), and 50 stanzas on the sphere (गोल) His other works are lost He does not advance much beyond the old ग्रन्थसिद्धान्त and his views often agree with those of Paulisa But his was the first work to show a distinct chapter on mathematics in relation to astronomy and his division of astronomical topics was quite effective It was he who first held that the earth is round and rotates on its axis which was not approved by वार्षिकीश्वर nor ऋष्टोप्त ग्रन्थ He did not believe in the height of Meru he equated the four युगः and he ascribed eclipses (not to the operation of राह) to the moon and the shadow of the earth for which he has been severely censured by ऋष्टोप्त From a second आर्द्धाण्डे we have आर्द्धसिद्धान्त dated about 950 A D In addition to लाट and आर्द्धाण्डे वार्षिकी mentions सिद्ध अद्यान्त and विष्णुनन्दिन् His work lay mainly in the field of astrology (फलार्थज्योतिष) but his गणितसिद्धान्त is of very high historical importance He declines to accept conjunctions of planets as explaining eclipses Brahmagupta (598 A D) son of फिलू of Bhillimalla near Multan was the author of the आर्द्धसिद्धान्त or गृहसिद्धान्त (628 A D) In 665 he wrote गोप्यान्तक a karana i.e a practical treatise giving material for astronomical calculations In his सिद्धान्त he attacks severely अर्द्धाण्डे Like अर्द्धाण्डे he excelled in Mathematics and a chapter of his सिद्धान्त is devoted to the mathematical solution of astronomical problems To Bhoja is ascribed the ग्राहमुगांड a karana of 1042 A D and the भास्त्राण्ड,

a karana, by शतानन्द, begins its reckoning from A.D. 1099. Far more important is the **सिद्धान्तशिल्पोन्मिति** of भास्कराचार्य, written in 1150 A.D. It falls into four parts, the नीतिवत्ति and विज्ञप्तिः, containing the mathematical parts, and the ग्रहणित and गोत्र, containing astronomy proper. In the ग्रेत्र there is a section on astronomical instruments, and a description of the seasons. His क्रमण्डुभूति dates from 1178 A.D. His attitude is that of the शूर्यसिद्धान्त and एकाण्ड, but he is clear and precise, while his commentary makes his ambiguous phrases quite intelligible.

Mathematics: (1) आर्धिकोटि was the first to insert definitely mathematical section in astronomy. He deals with involution and evolution, area and volumes. After a semi-astronomical section dealing with the circle, shadow problem &c. he proceeds to progressions and algebraic identities. After dealing with examples he proceeds to in-determinate equations &c. His notation is unique. (2) Brahmagupta's work covers the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube roots, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry including treatment of the rational rightangled triangle and the elements of circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow problems, negative and positive quantities, ciphers, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees in considerable detail, and simple equations of the first and second degrees. Special attention is given to cyclic quadrila-

terals (3) गणितसाम्राज्य of महावीराचार्य of the 9th century under the Rashtra kuta king अमोघवर्ष Though fuller the book is more elementary than that of ब्रह्मगुप्त It gives many examples of solutions of indeterminates and introduces geometrical progressions and deals with eclipses (4) वीरेन्द्र in his खिंचौ deals with quadratic equations in addition (5) The लीलावती of भाष्माचार्य, based on वीरेन्द्र's work and the work of ब्रह्मगुप्त includes permutations and combinations and indeed it is the most systematic account of Indian algebra Here the author teaches mathematics to his widowed daughter Līlavati who afterwards turned out to be one of the greatest mathematicians in India

Astrology (ऋग्वेदज्यारिय)—That the celestial bodies exercise influence on the fate of men and that the future can be foretold from their aspect is a very early belief in India Whether it appeared independently in India or it was borrowed from Babylon is still to be ascertained In the Brahmanas and the sutras we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star and the Dharmasutras demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house chaplain, while the अर्थात् ranks court bards the servants of the chaplain and astrologers among the lower court functionaries In war an astrologer was essential to foretell the result from the signs and to encourage the army and terrify the enemy The Buddhists denounce the occupation वैद्याशिष्ठव् whose great work (यश्व ग शिष्ठा) caused all the older texts on astrology to disappear mentions असिद्धादेव,

ପର୍ଗ, ବୃକ୍ଷଗର୍ଗ, ନାରଦ and ପରାମାର amongst authorities. We have still fragments of the ବୃକ୍ଷଗର୍ଗସଂହିତା or ଗାର୍ଗସଂହିତା. ବରାହମିହିନ divides the science of Jyotis (ଜ୍ୟୋତିଷ) into three branches. The first, the astronomical and mathematical foundations, is called ତ୍ରୁତି, the next, ହୋରା (hora), deals with horoscopes (କୋଣ୍ଠି), the third, ସଂହିତା (Sanhita), covers the sphere of natural astrology. The ବୃହ୍ମ ସଂହିତା of ବରାହମିହିନ is the greatest authority on astrology (କଲିତ'ଜ୍ୟୋତିଷ). ପୃଥ୍ବୀଶ୍ୱର, son of ବରାହମିହିନ, wrote a ହୋରାସ୍ଟ୍ରିପକ୍ଷାଶିଳା on nativities, on which ଭଟ୍ଟୋଧିପଳ commented. ଭଟ୍ଟୋଧିପଳ himself wrote a ହୋରାଶାନ୍ତ୍ର in 25-
verses.

Lecture 11.

SANSKRIT DRAMA (ক্লপক)

Origin of Sanskrit drama (1) Indian tradition of the origin of dramatic literature: Tradition in Saint Bharata's Natyasastra (नृत्य नाट्यशास्त्र), the oldest text on the theory of drama, claims for it a divine origin and a close connection with the sacred Vedas. Creation of this new form of literature was reserved to the silver age (चतुर्थयुग), when the gods approached Brahman (the all father, and prayed to him for production of something to give pleasure to the ears and the eyes alike, a fifth veda which might be shared by

all alike (irrespective of caste and creed) Brahma gave ear to the prayer and deigned to fashion a Veda in which historical chronicles should be combined with instruction in all the ends of men. He took from the Rigveda the element of recitation from the Sama Veda song from the Yajurveda the mimetic art and from the Atharva Veda sentiment. He then bade Viswakarman the divine architect, build a play house in which the divine sage Bharata was instructed to carry into practice the art thus created. The gods accepted with joy the new creation. Siva contributed to it the tandava dance (तांडवमूर्त्ति) expressing strong emotion and Parvati, his spouse the tender and Voluptuous dance, lasya (लाश्य), while Vishnu was responsible for the invention of the four dramatic styles, essential to the effect of the play (i.e. the four रूपिः called भावगी गायत्री आरटी and दैक्षिण्यी). To saint Bharata fell the duty of transferring to the द्यूम्पील (i.e. Hindusthana) this celestial Veda in the form of the नाट्यशृङ्. According to शिष्मद्भाष्यम् the stage must be two storied (द्वितीयिक) and either ellipsoidal विकृत, वृतांशः) rectangular (त्रिकृत भागः) or triangular (अन्तर्यामी विकृतेभागः). The length of the stage may be either 108 cubits or 64 cubits or 32 cubits. All incidents relating to the gods (देव) and the people of paradise (द्येव तन निरासी) are to be represented on the upper floor and the rest on the ground floor.

Dialogues From the dialogues in the Rigveda & their commentaries we may fairly assume that the period of the Rigveda knew dramatic spectacles,

religious in character, in which the priests assumed the roles of gods & sages in order to imitate the events of paradise. Ethnology shows us the close relation of music, dance & drama among many peoples. According to Dr. Hertel the hymns represent the beginnings of dramatic art, which may be compared with the form of the GitaGovinda. The vedic ritual did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitations in honour of the gods, it involved a complex round of ceremonies in some of which there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation i. e. the performers of the rites assumed for the time being personalities other than their own. In the মহাবৃত্ত we find elements which are of importance as indicating the materials from which the drama developed. Of many elements which enter into drama we find the songs of the সামবেদ and the use of ceremonial dances

Religion & drama: original dramas were religious. They owe their origin to the national epics. Krishna plays an important part in early dramas. The part of Rama chandra in the growth of the drama was not less important than that of Krishna. The religious importance of the drama is seen distinctly in the attitude of the Buddhists towards it. The dramatic performances described in the Harivansa (হরিবংশ) support the theory that it was originally connected with the Krishna-cult. Saint Bharata was the author of the science of dancing and vocal and instrumental music—all these

three being the elements of the drama. He is said to have learnt it from Brahman and played it before Siva. The poet Bhavabhuti (ভবভূতি) makes saint Valmiki (বাল্মীকি) a contemporary of saint Bharata. Again the Harivamsa speaks of a নাটকীয়ত-বামাত্ত্ব the authorship of which is attributed to Valmiki by Bhavabhuti in his Uttara Ramacharita (উত্তররামচরিত). The original নাটক of saint Bharata still remains undiscovered. The আর্যনাট্য গ্রন্থ ascribed to him is most probably a later digest bearing to the original sutra some relation as the কামসূত্র নৌমিসামু বৰ্ত্ত কেন্দ্ৰীয় অৰ্থনাম্বৰ recently discovered.

The epics on drama There is no express mention of any drama in either the Ramayana or the Mahabharata.

Grammarians on drama In Panini we find mention of নাটসূত্র (nata sutras) text books for natīs ascribed to Silalin (শিলালিন) & ক্ৰিসাস্বী (Krisaswī) the fact being recorded because of the formation of the names assumed by their followers শিলালিনস and ক্ৰিসাস্বীস. In the পতঃভাষ্য of Patanjali we find from his criticism on a rule laid down by কাট্যায়ণ as to the use of the এত of things which a person has himself seen that it was normal to use in his time phrases describing a past event as if it had occurred before the eyes of the speaker in dramatic representation. We get the names কৃত্য and বনিবহন by way of illustration.

Different theories on the origin of drama

(1) Profs Hillebrandt and Konow are of opinion that originally there existed a popular mime which

with the epic, lies at the bottom of Sanskrit drama. (2) Prof. Pischel holds that the puppet-play is the source of Sanskrit drama and that drama has its home in India, whence it has spread over the world. In his opinion the shadow-dramas (ছায়াকপক্ষ) were the original dramas. (3) Prof. E. B. Hoerwitz is of opinion that the Indian drama originated from the ancient custom of reciting the national poems at social and religious gatherings (4) Prof Ridway, on the other hand, holds that there can be no doubt that the desire to honour the great has been from the earliest times the leading factors in the origin of the Hindu drama. Thus, according to him, the Hindu drama, like the Hindu epic, had its origin in ballads composed in honour of the actual exploits of famous men According to Prof Macdonell, the earliest forms of dramatic literature in India are represented by those hymns of the Rigveda which contain dialogues. The origin of the acted drama is wrapped in obscurity The dance (নাচ) probably represented the beginning of the Indian drama. It must have at first consisted only of rude pantomimes in which the dancing or movement of the body was accompanied by mute gestures of the hand and face Songs, doubtless, early formed an ingredient in such performances. The addition of dialogues was the last step in the development. According to Prof. Windische the New Attic Comedy which flourished from 340-260 B. C. must be deemed the source of influence on Indian drama From Periplus it is known

that Alexandria under the Lagidai became a great centre of Greek learning and that bet Alexandria and Ujjiyini through the port of Birygaza there was a brisk exchange of trade which might have aided in intellectual contact. More value attaches to the argument from the use of राज्ञी (or in prakrit राज्ञिः) for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the back ground of the stage. Another value attaches to the argument from the use of the term रक्षिणी or Greek maidens used as body guards of the kings in Sanskrit dramas. Besides the points of resemblance in regard to the plot are of interest. There is some similarity between the stock theme of the राजिका the love theme of a king for a maiden hindered by various obstacles and finally successful through events which reveal her as a princess destined for him in marriage but concealed in this aspect by some accident) and the new comedy picture of the youth whose affection for a fair lady apparently of status which forbids marriage by Attic law but in reality of equal birth is finally rewarded by the discovery of the mark which leads to her identification. The use of a mark of recognition is undoubtedly common in both dramas (Mark the ring of recognition in रक्षान्तर्कुम the seal of Raksha a in the रुद्रान्तर) These are striking facts and the only way to meet them is to show that the motifs in Sanskrit drama have an earlier history in the literature and can be regarded as natural developments. The characters of the drama present

problems which are not solved by the theory of borrowing. Prof Windisch lays most stress on his comparison of the three characters of the विट, विद्युषक, and शकार with the parasite, the servus, currens and the miles gloriosus of the Greek drama and his arguments are altogether not without great weight. It is true that these three, with the शूद्रधार and his assistant, are given by the नाट्यशास्त्र in a list of actors and that the five correspond fairly closely with the male personnel of the Greek drama. It is also true that, while कालिदास and the मृच्छकटिक with the चाक्रदत्त know the शकार, he vanishes from the later dramas and the विट shows comparatively little life, suggesting that the Greek borrowings were gradually felt unsuited to India and died a natural death. But the argument is inadequate to prove the borrowing. The विट is, indeed, more akin to the parasite than to any other character of the Greek or Roman comedy, but the parasite is lacking in the refinement and culture of his Indian counter part, who is clearly drawn from life, the witty and accomplished companion who is paid to amuse his patron, but whose dependence does not make him the object of insolence and bad jokes. The विद्युषक has his origin in the religious drama, his Brahman caste and his use of Prakrit can best thus be explained. The similarity between the शकार and the miles gloriosus is by no means small, but the argument from borrowing is refused by the reflection that such a figure can be explained perfectly easily from the actual life of India in the period of

Bhasa and the यूक्तिक when mercenary soldiers must have been painfully familiar to Indians. The number of actors is certainly not in accord with the Greek practice. The अभिज्ञान शकुनम् has 30 the शुद्धाद्रावकम् 24 and it is only in the later and less inventive उद्योगि that we find but 13 in the गानदौमाधव and 11 in the उद्योग चक्रिक. The prologue (उत्तरवना) in both dramas serves the purpose of announcing the author's name the title of the play, and the desire of the dramatist for a sympathetic reception but the Indian prologue is closely attached to the preliminaries and has a definite and independent character of its own in the conversation between the राज्यार्थी and the नटी (his wife) the chief actress so that borrowing is out of the question. There is similarity between the protagonist and the राज्यार्थी for both undertake the leading parts in the drama but this and other minor points are of no value as proofs of historical connection. More recently the tendency to find Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama has turned to the mime which was performed without masks and buskins as was the Indian drama. Moreover the mime had a curtain (siparium) comparing with the curtain of India. There was no scene painting in the mime different dialects were used and the number of actors was considerable. The zelotypos in the mime has some similarity to the शकुन and the mokos to the शूद्रक. But they are no positive proofs on behalf of Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama.

The Sakas and the Sanskrit drama Prof.

Levi holds that the rise of the Sanskrit drama is to be attributed to the एक्स whose advent to India was one of the causes of the rapid decadence of the Greek principalities in the north west. The theory is based on a general view of the elevation of Sanskrit to the rank of the language of literature, as opposed to its restriction to use as the learned and sacred language of the Brahmins. The inscriptions show that Sanskrit as an epigraphic language was introduced by Rudradaman whose Girnar inscription of 150 A.D. is wholly in Sanskrit, though Sanskrit appears in part in Ushavadatta's inscription of A.D. 124. The Western Kshatrapas, of Saka origin, were, he holds, the first to bring Sanskrit down to earth, as contrasted with the Hindu and orthodox Satakarnis of the Deccan who retained Prakrit in their inscriptions down to the third century A.D. The character of the शकाव may be regarded in this light, in its hostility to the एक्स it reveals a period when either a prince was opposed to the एक rule or the एक dominion had just fallen and was fresh in the minds of the people. A specific connection between the एक्स and the creation of drama may be seen in the terminology of the नाट्यग्रन्थ and that of their inscriptions. But the discovery of Aswaghosha's fragments shows that the drama has already attained a very definite and complete form. Thus the theory that the western kshatrapas introduced Sanskrit into the drama falls hopelessly to the ground on chronological considerations alone. The error owes its origin to

the belief that the drama developed as a prakrit drama before it was turned into Sanskrit But from the रथाभास्य we know that the Sanskrit Kavya and drama existed before the existence of any Prakrit Kavya or drama The discovery of Aswaghosha's fragments undoubtedly brings the creation of the drama at least very closely up to time of latanjali if not earlier The first century BC can with fair certainty be assumed to be very late t period for the appearance of genuine Sanskrit drama

The evidence of the Prakrits That the drama was also in part in Prakrit from the outset seems extremely probable The mere recitation of the epic indeed did not demand any intervention of Prakrit but that such recitations by themselves would produce a true drama is most improbable and we may legitimately hold that it was only the union of these recitations with action from the religious contest that produced the drama In that contest the lower classes were represented and they spoke their own language In the vedic रथाभास्य we can not suppose that the वैश्या who contested the right of the Vaisya to the symbol of the sun spoke in Sanskrit nor that the Brahman and the hetaera exchanged their ritual abuse in the classical tongue or its vedic antecedent The religious festival in which रथाभास्य appeared as slaying Kamsa must similarly have demanded the use of vernacular dialects by the humbler members of those who took part in it The fact that रथाभास्य appears mainly in the dialogue Sans

krit preeminentlly in verses, strengthens the view that the new drama derived its verse in the main from the epic recitation, its prose dialogue from the religious contest. As to the use of the different types of আঁচ্ছত in the drama, the শৌরসেনী was the language of the বিদ্যুক, the hetaera and of those who were born in আর্যাবর্ত, the মঢ়াবাষ্টী had the honour of being the language of verses sung by maidens who would in prose speak শৌরসেনী. মাগধী and অর্জনাগধী were the dialects of the porters and other servants.

Literary antecedents of the drama :— The drama owes in part its origin to the epics of India, from them it derives largely its inspiration. From the epics also developed the Kavya, the refined, polished court epic. The predominating sentiment is the erotic (শূক্রার), the heroic (বীর) or occasionally that of calm (শান্ত), other sentiments appearing in a subsidiary role (অপ্রধানভাবেন) The subject-matter is to be taken, either from tradition or not, but the heroes must be virtuous. The work begins with a prayer (নান্দী) The development of the plot employs five junctures (সন্ক্ষিস) and one or other of the four aims of man (পুরুষার্থ) wealth (অর্থ), love (কাম) performance of duty (ধর্ম) or emancipation (মোক্ষ) is to be attained by the action. It is on account of love of description in the epic that the verses in the drama are often overwhelmingly descriptive. A further source of literary inspiration in the drama must undoubtedly be seen in the work of the lyric poets.

Lecture 12

DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

1 Aswaghosha and Buddhist Drama (অস্বগোষ্ঠী এবং বৌদ্ধ নাটক) The discovery of fragments of manuscripts on Palm leaf at Turfan has through the favour of Prof Luders revealed to us the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas (1) Sariputra Prakarana (শারিপুত্র প্রকরণ) of Aswaghosha son of Suvarnakshi (Suvarnakshi) The full little of the work is শারদতীপুত্র প্রকরণ (Saradwatiputra Prakarana) and it is complete in 9 acts It deals with the events leading to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana (মৌঢ়ল্যায়ন) and Sariputra (শারিপুত্র) by the Buddha It is a অকরণ (a social drama) corresponding to the classical type as laid down in the Natyasastra of saint Bharata (2) The allegorical and the hetaera dramas The same manuscript has also fragments of two other dramas There is no evidence of their authorship other than the fact that they appear in the same manu cript as the work of Aswaghosha and that they display the same general appearance as the work of that playwright The first of the two represents the type of the allegorical drama অবোধচন্দ্রনাথ of Krishna Misra We find the allegorical

figures of Buddhi (wisdom), Kirti (fame) and Dhriti (firmness), appearing and conversing. This is followed by the advent of the Buddha himself. But for this mixture of the real and the abstract ideal we have to go beyond Krishna Misra, who represents all his characters as abstract ideals (Vishnu for instance by Faith in Vishnu) to Kavikarnapura's glorification of Chaitanya in the 16th century, in which allegorical figures are mingled with Chaitanya and his followers, though they do not actually converse together. The characters speak Sanskrit, but the fragments are too short to give us any real information on the general trend of the play. The drama has a hetaera named Magadhabati (মগধবতী), a Vidushaka named Komudhagandha (কোমুদগন্ধ), a hero styled only Nayaka (নায়ক), but probably named Somadatta (সোমদত্ত), a dushta (দুষ্ট) i.e. a rogue, without further name, a certain ধনঞ্জয় (Dhananjaya), who may possibly be a prince (রাজ্যালক), a maid servant and Sariputra and Maudgalyana. The drama was undoubtedly intended for purposes of religious edification, but what we have is too fragmentary to do more than show that the author was possessed of humour and that the Vidushaka was a hungry soul. The drama has many points of similarity with the মুক্তিকাণ্ড and shows close agreement with the classical model.

2. Bhasa. Kalidasa in his first drama মালবিকাশ্চিন্তা (Malavikagni Mita) refers to Bhasa with Samilla (সৌমিল), Kaviputra (কবিপুত্র) and others as his-

predecessors in dramatic art whose fame renders difficult the acceptance of his new drama who was still then an untried hand Bana Bhattacharya at the beginning of the 7th century A D, states (in his शक्तिकाव्य) that Bhasa attained fame by his drama. A century later Vakpati (in his वौकुर) declares his pleasure in Bhasa काजा एकार्ण (900 A D) places him amongst the classical poets Bhasa's dramatic works first began to be published by शिल्पालय शिल्पालय Ganapati Sastrin in 1912 and still now we have got only 13 works of the dramatist. It is quite difficult to arrive at a precise determination of Bhasa's date. That he was an illustrious predecessor of Kalidasa is quite certain. His dramatic works so far as we have got up to date are—(1) मध्यमित्ययोग (Madhyamityayoga) in one act has a reminiscence of the tale of the love of the demoness Hidimba (शिर्षा) for Bhimasena the second of the Pindavas, and their marriage which had घृतोलाच (Ghritotlach) as issue inspite of the parting of the parents (2) दुत घृतोलाच (Duta Ghritotlach) is also a व्यायोग indicating primarily a military spectacle. Here Ghatotkacha appears before the jubilant Kauravas on the unfair death of Abhimanyu (अभिमन्यु) in the Kurukshetra war as an emissary of the Pandavas and predicts their punishment at the hands of his uncle Arjuna (3) of the same general type is the कर्णभार (Karna Bhara) in one act which deals with Karna's armour (शस्त्र) won from the great परशुराम, with which he was making himself ready for a fight.

with Arjuna, when he was deprived of it by Indra, who appeared before him in the guise of a Brahman and obtained from him his armour and earrings. Karna with Salya (শল্য) the lord of the Madra country as his charioteer went out to battle and the sound of Arjuna's chariot was heard. (4) উরুভঙ্গ (Uru-bhanga) in one act is a drama with regard to the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana, greatest of the Kurus, ending in the breaking of the thigh of the latter, who falls in agony (5) The পঞ্চরাত্র (Pancha-ratra) in 3 acts is a drama in which there are more heroes than one and they more or less attain their ends, which seem to be the chief features of that dubious kind of play called সমবকারা (Samavakara). It reflects the period when efforts were being made to save the Kurus and the Pandavas from the fatal conflict which ends in the ruin of the former and grave loss to the latter. Dronacharya undertook a sacrifice for Duryodhana and sought as the fee the grant to the Pandavas of half the realm to which they had a just claim. Duryodhana promises on condition that they are heard of within 5 days. (6) দুতবাক্য (Duta Vakya) is a Vyayoga in one act. It deals with the fact of Krishna's failure in emissary before Duryodhana for bringing about peace between the Kauravas and the Pandavas through a proposal of partition of the kingdom (7) বালচরিত (Balacharita) presents us a picture of the feats of Krishna, culminating in the slaying of Kansa. It is a drama in 5 acts (7) The Pratima nataka (অতিমানাটক) in

7 acts describes the plot of the Ramayana from Ramachandra's exile to his return to Ayodhya by the aerial car ପୁଷ୍ପକ (Pushpaka) (8) The 7 acts of the ଅଭିନାଟିକ are matched by the six acts of the ଅଭିଷେକନାଟିକ (Abhisheka nataka) the drama of the consecration of Ramachandra which follows like its predecessor the Ramayana We thus see that the poet took the plot of the Ramayana and composed two dramas on the same plot (9) ଅବିମାରକ (Avimara) is a drama in six acts with a plot from the Katha literature on the love of ଅଦିଗ୍ନାତ୍ମକ and କୁର୍ବନୀ daughter of king କୁଣ୍ଡିତୋତ୍ତମ (10) ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଯୋଗକରାଯଣ (Pratijna yangandharayana) is a drama in 4 acts taken from the Brihat Katha of Gunadhyā with ସୌଗନ୍ଧରାଯଣ the minister of the Vatsa King Udayana as the hero (11) The Swapna-Vasavadatta or the Swapnanataka (ସପ୍ନାମୟନାଟା or ସପ୍ନାଟିକ) in six acts forms in substance the continuation of the ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଯୋଗକରାଯଣ The fame of the work in ବାଜ୍ରଶେଷରୁ's time is attested, and already before him the imaginary conflagration of the queen had excited the imitation of Harsha in the ରତ୍ନାବଳୀ [Indeed The ପ୍ରିୟଦର୍ଶିକା] and its supplement the ରତ୍ନାବଳୀ two melodramas (ନାଟିକା) attributed to King Harsha are brimful of the incidents of the dramas ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଯୋଗକରାଯଣ and the ସପ୍ନାମୟବନ୍ଦତ୍ତା or the ସପ୍ନାଟିକ] (12) Great promise, in a different Vein is shown in the ଚାରୁଦତ୍ତ (Charudatta) of which we have only a fragment in 4 acts without beginning or final verses The ଦରିଦ୍ରାଚରୁଦତ୍ତ (Daridra Charudatta) mentioned by Abhinavagupta (ଅଭିନବଗୁପ୍ତ) is most pro-

bably the same work. From it are derived the first four acts of the *মুক্তিকাণ্ড*, attributed to *শূদ্রক*

Bhasa and Kalidasa :—The probability of Kalidasa's acceptance of ideas from those of Bhasa, so illustrious a predecessor, is turned into certainty by numerous coincidences between the two. Of course, with such a genius as Kalidasa's, the matter borrowed is transformed and normally improved in the change. In act 1 of the *Sakuntala* the king is struck with the elegance of the simple bark-dress of the heroine in keeping with her station as a maiden of the hermitage (কিম্ব ইব হি শধুরাণঃ মণঃ নাক্ত গানাম) The germ of this pretty idea is found in the *Pratimanataka* act 1 where Sita playfully decks herself in a dress of bark, evoking the judgment of her friend (সর্ব-শোভনীৱঃ পুনঃ নাম) The fact of borrowing is established by the episode in act 1 of the *Sakuntala* of the treatment of watering the garden as an act of penance on the maiden's part an idea which occurs in a closely parallel passage in Act V of the *Pratimanataka*. In the same act of the *প্রতিমানাটক* we find রামেন্দ্র bidding সৌভাগ্য take farewell of the fawns and the trees, which are her foster children, and of her dear friends, the Vindya mountain and the creepers, in the departure of *Sakuntala* from the hermitage the trees and the fawns as well as the creepers share in the grief of her departure, of the deer is expressly used the term 'foster child' found in the *Pratimanataka*. Again in act VII of the *Pratimanataka* Sita is reminded of the distrust felt by the deer in *Bharata*,

just as Sakuntala describes their distrust of Dushyanta (Act V) There is a parallel in the शशासनम् act I where वासवदत्ता is received kindly by the lady of the hermitage and thanks her for her courteous words, to the scene at the opening of the Sakuntala in which the king assures Anasuya that her speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality (भवते ना इन् देव नित्रा फलम् विदिताम्) The parallel is completed by the instruction given by the chamberlain in Bhasa's play to the servant to avoid disturbance to the hermitage with commands of the king to the commander in-chief Similar also is the scene in act II of the शशासनम् in which during the play of वासवदत्ता and वामदत्ता in disguise reference is made to the former's approaching marriage to the talk of अदूष्या's friends with her in Act I We have also in Act VI of either play a parallel treatment of the lute lost by उमा in one case and the ring lost by अदूष्या in the other, the verses in which the innocent objects of censure are attacked being similar in spirit and taste The motif of the curse of Durva is explaining in the Sakuntala the sufferings of the heroine suggests the curse of चक्रतार्याद in the अदिगामी reducing the hero to a humble rank and in the Sakuntala the lovers are reunited at the hermitage of saint वृद्धांशु as in the अदिगामी they meet at the abode of saint वृद्धांशु But we can not but observe that Kalidasa's dramas as they stand do not agree with the rule observed in those of Bhasa regarding the beginning of the drama

D R Winternitz about Bhasa The 13 plays

published by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastrin are works of भास as they are works of great poetical merit worthy of the name of Bhasa. भास was undoubtedly a great poet and above all a dramatic genius Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti were no doubt greater poets, greater masters of language than भास, but in the whole of Sanskrit literature no drama, according to Dr Winternitz, could compare as a stage-play with any one of the 13 plays ascribed to Bhasa, for all classical dramas are more or less book-dramas, while these 13 plays are one and all the works of a born dramatist wonderfully adapted to the stage

Lecture 13.

Precursors of Kalidasa.

Precursors of Kalidasa : (1) Bhasa, (2) Saumilla mentioned by Rajasekhara along with Ramilla (रामिल्ल) as co-workers composing a शृङ्खकथा (a tale on the union of the sentiment of love and heroism), (3) Kaviputras were two who were also collaborators like Somilla and Ramilla, (4) Sudraka, author of the social drama (थ्रकथ) मृद्धकटिक, was a king. The first four acts of the drama had its origin in the चान्द्रग-

শুল্ক of Bhasa To **শুল্ক** we can not but ascribe the originality of combining the political and the love intrigue which give together a special value to the play. The conception of the science of theft is neatly paralleled in the **দশকু প্রাচীরিত** where a text book on the subject is a cribbed to **কর্ণীস্ত** and the same work contains interesting accounts of gambling which illustrate act II. It is a **শুল্ক** in 10 Acts.

Kalidasa Dr A B Keith in his *Sanskrit Drama* after due consideration of all arguments about Kalidasa's date has at last come to the conclusion that Kalidasa flourished under Chandragupta II of Ujjayini who ruled up to about 413 A.D. with the style of Vikramaditya (विक्रमादित्य) which is alluded to in the name विक्रमोर्वशीय while the title of the *Kumarasambhava* may well hint a compliment on the birth of young Kumaragupta his son and successor. The नाट्यविकाशग्रन्थ with its marked insistence on the horse sacrifice of the drama seems to suggest a period in Kalidasa's early activity when the memory of the first horse sacrifice for long performed by an Indian king that of मृदुलुप्त was fresh in men's minds. Moreover the poems of Kalidasa are essentially those of the Gupta period when the Brahmanical tendencies of the dynasty were in full strength and the menace of foreign attack was for the time evanescent. Amongst the three dramas of Kalidasa his first play नाट्यविकाशग्रन्थ is a historical drama (ऐति-हासिक नाटक) The characters पूर्णदित्य अश्विनि and वशि द्वि being taken from the dynasty of the शृंग

formed by the first through the deposition of the last
गोर्ज in 178 B c. The second play विक्रमोर्शीय is a
melo drama (त्रोटक) adapted from the Vedas and
the Brahmanas The third play, अस्तित्वानश्चास्त्र, re-
presents the perfection of Kalidasa's dramatic art.
The incident from the आदिपर्व of the Mahabharata
has been adapted to represent a perfect work on
dramatic art with full delineation of the poets own
time

Sanskrit drama was the highest product of Indian
poetry and it summed up in itself the final concep-
tion of literary art achieved by the very selfcon-
scious creators of Indian literature The drama can
not but bear essential traces of its connection with
the Brahmins Emotion is the principal object of
exhibition in Indian dramas The plot is a secondary
element in the highest form of the drama (नाटक).
Kalidasa makes subtle changes in the plot of the
Sakuntala, not for the sake of improving the plot as
such, but because the attractions are necessary to
exhibit in perfection the sentiment of love, which
must be evoked in the hearts of the audience The
crudities of the epic left Sakuntala a business-like
young woman and Dushyanta a selfish and calcula-
ting lover, both blemishes had to be removed in
order that the spectator might realise within him-
self, in ideal forms, the tenderness of a girl's first
affection and the honourable devotion of the king,
clouded only by a curse against which he had no
power Tragedy proper is denied in Indian dramas

and comedy in its highest form is not difficult. The **নাটক** and the **প্রকরণ** (অকরণিকা as well) represent comedy in all forms. The **শ্ৰীমতী** and **ভাগ** appeal to the comic sentiment in an inferior form. Limited by nature of intellectual movement Kalidasa has no message for us for the deeper questions of human life. Fascinating and exquisite as is the **Saluntala** it has been removed far from the cruelty of real life and it neither seeks to answer nor does it solve the riddles of life. Indeed the dramatic art was essentially aristocratic in India and is such the drama was never popular in the sense in which the Greek drama possessed that quality. From an early period we find the distinction of class reflected in a distinction of language culture being reserved largely for the two higher classes, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas or the ruling class. It was in this rarefied atmosphere that Sanskrit drama came into being and it was to literati of high cultivation that its creation from the hints present in religion and in the epic was due.

The Indian view on **Kalidasa** We have absolutely no trustworthy information regarding the personal history of Kalidasa. The poet has studiously observed utter silence about himself in his works. He was the least of an egotist that it was possible to be. His poetical works alone stand as an immortal monument of his surpassing poetic excellence. We have to content ourselves with what we can gather about the poet from external

sources and a few incidents found here and there in his works which have a distant bearing upon the history of his life. A time-honoured tradition associates the name of Kalidasa with that of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The keen interest and filial love with which the poet describes the Mahakala, the Sipra and the other beauties of Ujjayini unmistakably point to the conclusion that he must have been a native of that city. Again the various covert references to the name of Vikrama in fully eulogistic terms which were undoubtedly meant to immortalise king Vikramaditya are inexplicable if that monarch be not regarded as the patron of the poet. The poet also betrays considerable acquaintance with court-life in his works. This, as well as no allusion to the goddess of wealth having ever frowned upon him, shows that he was in affluent circumstances and had not the misfortune ever to drink the bitter cup of poverty. By caste he was a saraswata Brahman and was a devout adorer of Siva, but not a sectarian at all. He seems to have travelled a good deal all over India. His graphic description of the Himalayan scenes looks very much like that of one who was an eye-witness (Unlike Bhavabhuti) he appears to have enjoyed great popularity during his life time. In spite of his warm admiration of pleasures he was never an unscrupulous voluptuary as is clearly evident from the many noble sentiments expressed in the *Sakuntala*. It also appears from the same play that he was against love-marriges though always actuated

with the most generous entiments towards the fair sex His works bear further testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas the philosophy of the Upanishads the Bhagavadgita the Sankhya, the Yoga and the Vedanta as propounded by Vyasa, medicine and the rudiments of astronomy Beyond these few facts nothing is known about the poet

Works of Kalidasa —The poet's silence about himself in his works gave opportunity to many uncrupulous inferior poets to father their own works upon him The following are notable amongst the works attributed to him —(1) ऋतुसहार (2) कूमारसंक्षेप (3) ऋघ्व । (4) मेघदृत (5) अभिज्ञानाकृष्ण (6) विक्रमोर्ज्वल (7) मालविकाश्चित्र (8) शत्रुघ्नी (9) शृङ्गारात्मक (10) शृङ्गारारम्भक (11) मेहरुष (12) नलाच्युत्य, (13) पूर्णवाणविलास (14) शामलादात्रुक (15) शृङ्गारात्मिका and (16) ज्योतिर्विद्याभरण Amongst these the first seven are acknowledged by all scholars to be Kalidasa's works The rest are to be dismissed as productions of some inferior hands Amongst the poems the order of composition was ऋतुसहार कूमारसंक्षेप मेघदृत and ऋघ्व, while amongst the dramatic works the order of composition was मालविकाश्चित्र विक्रमोर्ज्वल and अभिज्ञानाकृष्ण

Kalidasa as a poet —Kalidasa is indisputably the greatest master mind in Sanskrit poetry He has been and will ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as the prince of Indian poets He has also evoked spontaneous outpourings of praise and manifestations of admiration from foreign poets

and scholars who had access to his works either directly or through translations. Goethe has voluntarily bestowed his highest meed of praise on him. About the Sakuntala he says—

“Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline, And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ? Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ? I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said.” As translated from the German by E B, Eastwick In the words of the renowned philosopher and traveller Humboldt—“Kalidasa, the celebrated author of the Sakuntala, is a masterly describer of the influence which nature has upon the minds of lovers, tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations.” The celebrated critic Schlegel has also assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the ‘sons of song’. Sir Monier Williams writing about the Sakuntala says—“No composition of Kalidasa displays more the richness of his poetical genius, the exuberance of his imagination, the warmth and play of his fancy, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions, his familiarity with the workings and counter workings of its conflicting feelings in short more entitles him to rank as the Shakespeare of India.” Professor Lassen calls him the “brightest star in the firmament of Indian poetry.”

Thus we see that his poetic genius has brought Sanskrit poetry to the highest elegance and refinement. His style is pure and chaste. It has neither the laxity of the Puranas nor the extravagant colouring of later poems. It is unartificial and characterised by brevity consistent with perspicuity. An unaffected simplicity of expression and an easy flowing language mark his writings which are embellished with similes unparalleled for their beauty and appropriateness, and pithy general sayings. His diction is marked by absence of long compounds involved constructions and over wrought rhetoric and by very few puns. Kalidasa excels other poets in his description of the sublime and the beautiful. His descriptive powers are great and some of the scenes in the Sakuntala the Meghaduta and the Raghuvansha are so charming, nay so enchanting, as to hold the readers spell bound.

Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti compared —
 The only dramatic poet who may be compared with Kalidasa is Bhavabhuti and as a poet on the whole both may be placed as rivals but as a dramatist the palm is certainly in favour of the former. The Uttara Rama charita is the best drama of Bhavabhuti (উত্তরা রামাচরিতে ভবভূতি বিশিষ্টতে) These two poets are generally regarded as the leading dramatists in Sanskrit. Both are original poets gifted with genius of the highest order. Both are masters of the natural style of poetry and both are equally happy in their choice of words. But Bhavabhuti's style

is elaborate and generally unnecessarily marked by long compounds. Truly the poet had to yield here to the tendency of the age. If Kalidasa has more fancy and imagination, Bhavabhuti is more sentimental and passionate. Kalidasa excels in depicting the sentiment of love (शूष्मा) while Bhavabhuti is in his element when depicting the sentiments of pathos (दृग्ग) and heroism (वीर) Dr. R G Bhandarkar remarks—"K, suggests or indicates the sentiment which B. expresses in forcible language" In the words of Sanskrit rhetoricians K's sentiment (भ्रम) is conveyed (अभियक्त) by लक्ष्य or व्यक्त sense of words while that of B is conveyed by the वाच्य sense. K's may be described as the synthetical method of poetry as opposed to B's which is analytical Dr Bhandarkar says that Bhavabhuti modelled the love of Madhava and Malati upon that of Dushyanta and Sakuntala But B notices the ethereal side of love more than K Again in the delineation of the sublime side of pathos B. seems to excel K (कारण्यं शब्दतिरेब तद्वते) As a poet of nature and a describer of the picturesque B can not be called inferior to K. K deals with the lovely, the admirable, and the excellent, but B deals with variety and hence often he goes beyond nature Besides B is more a poet than a dramatist, more a philosopher than an actual play-wright , while K, is the master artist with the pen of the perfect dramatist B's works are rather whole नाट्यकाव्यs than नाटकs or अकरणs, while K's works are all नाटकs, त्रोटकs and pure dramatic works.

Date of the poet Tradition mentions Kalidasa as contemporary of king Vikramaditya as one of the nine gems of his court King Vikramaditya who was an epoch maker founded the era Śūrvat (सूर्य) which commenced with 56 B C The Karur theory the renaissance theory and the theory of the nine gems all make Kalidasa flourish in the sixth century A D But recent researches have proved beyond all shade of doubt that the above theories are all false and unfounded Mallinatha in his commentary of Meghaduta says that Nichula and Dignaga were contemporaries of Kalidasa But there is no knowing about Nichula nor is there any possibility to decide which of the different Dignagacharyas were meant by Mallinatha there Mr K B Pathaka argues that since there is no mention of the Hunas in the Ramayana the conclusion follows that Kalidasa unconsciously refers to the Huna kings of his own time who held sway over the Punjab and Kashmir and specially to Mihirakula who about the year 532-533 A D retired to the Punjab after his overthrow by Yasodharman and Baladitya But this conclusion rests solely on assumption as there are references to the Hunas even in the Mahabharata Prof Apte has shown that just beyond Bactria or the thresh hold of ancient India the Hunas had constituted a powerful empire from the middle of the third century B C to the end of the first or second century A D Hence Raghu's conquest of the Hunas in the Raghu vansa can not make Kalidasa flourish in the 6th

century A.D. Batsibhatti, the author of the Mindisir inscription, imitates several ideas from Kalidasa: the latter must therefore have lived prior to 172 A.D. the date of the Mindisir inscription. Again Aswaghosha, the author of Buddhicharita, a Sanskrit epic in 28 cantos, has numerous passages similar to those occurring in the works of Kalidasa. Now Kalidasa was an original poet who borrowed his subjects from Valmiki, Vyasa and the authors of the Upanishads etc, while Aswaghosha was more a philosopher than a poet and may with greater probability be supposed to have borrowed his ideas from the works of Kalidasa. The date of Aswaghosha is given as 78 A.D. and if we suppose him to have borrowed from the works of Kalidasa, the latter will have to be placed earlier than 78 A.D. In this view Dr Peterson also concurs when he says, 'Kalidasa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if indeed he does not overtop it.'

There are also internal evidences pointing to the same conclusion. Let us first refer to the laws of inheritance and the penalty of theft as indicated in the Sakuntala. The passage in act VI of the Sakuntala announcing the death of the merchant Dhanamitra and his dying heirless, seems to Prof Apte to refer to a period when the widows of deceased persons could not inherit their estate. Such a period is to be found only before the Christian era, when Manu, Apastambha and Vasistha held sway and Brihaspati,

Sankhi Likhita and Yajnavalkya had not yet written their codes. The penalty for theft as indicated in the prologue to act VI seems to have been the extreme one it being the theft of a jewel [There is also a passage of similar import in the Vilramor vāyā V I in which the feather thief that had stolen away the king's favourite gem is referred to] The penalty for theft has been from time to time mitigated with the progress of civilisation Manu and Apastambha lay down the extreme penalty the option of fine being introduced later on as we find in the Smriti of Brihaspati It must not be forgot that the principal duty of a dramatist is to show to the authority how some of the laws of the time are unnatural and stiff and cruel K refers to the law of debt of his time in act 1 of the Sākuntala and shows how strict and cruel it is to the debtor Again Prof Apte points out that there is no reference to the Nyāya philosophy in Kalidāsa's works (except in Raghu XIII I in which the word वृक्ष—वाक्य occurs but which the author borrowed from the Sāṅkhyā) and concludes that K must have lived before the development of the original Nyāya philosophy Then there comes the evidence of style The artificiality of diction and the fondness for long compounds and double meanings of words which mark the writings of Dandin Bāri Bhatti, Bhavabhuti and other mediaeval writers are entirely absent in Kalidāsa a fact which clearly shows that he must be placed some six or seven centuries before them,

a period necessary to cause such a revolution in the art of literary composition considering the scanty means of the propagation of learning in those times. From the few facts stated above it is abundantly clear that Kalidasa lived in the first century Bc at the latest (the upward limit of his date being 300 Bc according to some critics)

General remarks about the *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* :—It is a love drama and belongs to the 'नाटक' class of drama (नाटक). The plot is taken from the national epic Mahabharata in its main outlines. It displays all the charms of Kalidasa's muse. Its language shows forth all the graces of his style. It is highly elegant and dignified and, where necessary, it abounds in striking and tasty comparisons. It is sublime in the poetical portions without becoming obscure or involved and presents a very charming ease and simplicity in the dialogues without ever descending to vulgarity. No forced construction, no offensive conceit, mars its beauty. The metres are mostly of the shorter kind, very musical and varied, with the sonorous आश्वा prominent among them. It is also highly finished from an artistic point of view. The action is progressive and the interest well sustained. The Sakuntala aims at giving a relative picture of the life of the people in a more marked degree than the other two dramas of the poet. [Kalidasa remains the sole unrivalled exponent of the pure classic mode of representing life and thought in the early ages.] The usual expedient

employed by writers of erotic plays (viz the introduction of a rival wife or wives to give variety to the action and add interest to the incident by the unwelcome interruptions in the love meetings of the hero and the heroine) is not made use of in the *Sakuntala*. Another distinguishing feature of the play is the insignificant part assigned to the *Vidushaka* who is so conspicuous in his other two plays. There are also no maid servants introduced in connection with the love intrigue since there is none such mentioned in the play.

Technical remarks —(1) Dramatic unity — There is no unity of time and place in the drama the unity present being that of plot alone (II) Five uniting links (পঞ্চসংক্ষিপ্ত) —(1) The মুখ্যসংক্ষিপ্ত commences with the presence of king Dushyanta (the hero of the ধৌরোহাত্ত type) in act I and ends with উভয়ে পরিকল্পনা উপরিবেশৈ (act II) It brings together the hero and the heroine and love strikes root in the heart of both. Their union in marriage is the final object and to achieve it the whole machinery is to be directed. The ground for the seed (বীজ) is prepared when the বৈধানিক says 'পুত্রম এব শুণ্যম পাপেত চক্রবর্ণিনম আপ্নুহি' (act I) and it is cast when he further says — দ্বানীম এব দুহিতাৰ শহুষ্টলাম &c &c (act I) (2) The প্রতিমুখসংক্ষিপ্ত commences with ব্রাজা। মাধব অন্যান্যস্তকু ফলে ইসি &c &c (act II) and terminates with the close of act III. We have the বিকল্প in that the stream of the main action though obstructed by such incidents as the talk about the chase, the double call of duty requiring

the king's attendance on the queen-mother and his presence at the hermitage to ward off the obstacles to the holy rites &c., proceeds unhindered, as implied by the words of the king 'ଗାଧ୍ୟ, ଅନବାପ୍ରତିକୁ-କ-ନାହନ୍ତି &c.' We have the ଅୟନ୍ତ୍ର or the endeavour to the principal end when the king says—“ତପସ୍ତିଭି: କୈଚିହ୍ ପରିଜ୍ଞାତୋହନ୍ତି &c” (act II). (3) The ଗର୍ଭମନ୍ତି takes up the whole of Act IV and extends as far as 'ଶ୍ରୀ ସଥୋତ୍ତମ କରୋତି in act V. It consists of the curse of ଦୁର୍ଵାସା which mars the hope of success (ଆସ୍ତାଶା) which, however, is still present in the words of saint ବସ୍ତ୍ର “ଏଭିଜ୍ଞାତୋ &c. (act IV). (4) ଅବସର୍ଦ୍ଧନ୍ତି spreads over the remainder of act V and the whole of act VI. Here the certain attainment of desired end (ନିୟତାପ୍ତି) is thwarted by the curse of Durvasas taking effect and the king becoming oblivious of his marriage with ଶକ୍ତୁତନ୍ତା. The way to the final catastrophe, however, is paved by the invitation of Indra. (5) The ନିର୍ଵିଳମନ୍ତି occupies the whole of act VII, wherein the various diverging incidents converge to one end, viz. the happy union of the king with his queen and son (III). Duration of time of the play : The whole action embraces a period of about six years. The first two acts occupy one day each. There seems to be about a fortnight's interval between the events of act II and those of act III, (as indicated by such expressions as ସଥି, ସତ: ଅଭ୍ୟତି &c, ସ ରାଜ୍ୟରେତାନ୍ ଦିବ୍ସାନ୍ ଅଜାଗରବୁଦ୍ଧଶୋ ଦୃଶ୍ୟତେ), so the love-marriage (ଗନ୍ଧର୍ମ-ବିବାହ) of ଦୁଷ୍ୟତ୍ତମା and ଶକ୍ତୁତନ୍ତା must have taken place sometime towards the end of ତୈଜ୍ସ. An interval of about five to six months separates act IV

from act III there being a distance of about fifteen days between the act itself and the *বিষ্ণু* The words of the disciple of কৃষ্ণ যাতেকন্তেশ্বর &c (IV 2) leave no doubt that he is describing the scene presented by a full moon day morning and that must have been a morning of আশ্বিন This period is sufficient for Sakuntala to give clear indications of her pregnancy and also for Sunt কু to return home Kan এর disciples must have reached Dushyant's palace in about two days (for Hastinapur was about a day's journey from Kan's hermitage as is implied by the king's words—নামাকর (দুষ্যন্ত) ১৭৮ &c which gives three days as the time necessary to go to the city and come back) So the events of act V commence about two days after those related in act IV The *প্রক্ষেপ* of act VI evidently refers to the incidents of a day after a month or two from the incidents described in act V The act VI opens after a long time in the spring season From act VII it appears that সৰ্বদয় (তবুত afterwards) was about five to six years old when the king meets him The incidents mentioned in act VI refers to only one day before what took place in act VII (গাত্রে অস্তুস প্রহারোৎসবে পূর্ণিমা নিবৃত্ত অধিবোৰ্তা ন লাভি— শৰ্মাৰ্থ) Hence the whole time of duration of the play covers about 6 years

IV Merits of the drama —[The poet in the first place is the interpreter of Nature's beauty The world is not painted or adorned but is from the beginning beautiful and God has not made some things beautiful, but beauty is the ruling principle of the

universe. This beauty the poet's soul feels and represents in words. The poet is consequently the person in whom the powers of impression and expression are preeminently combined. Mere poetical talents or industry and skill in metre-making do not make a true poet. It is the power vividly to impart the impressions he receives having clothed them with thoughts and ideas of his own that makes a true poet. The poet is next a man of genius. Genius is that mental power and activity which enable their possessor to create new combinations and results. It is a creative and constructive faculty. It is due to this faculty that when the soul of the poet has come to ripeness of thought he detaches and sends forth from its undying creations, its poems and songs, which infix themselves firmly into the hearts of men. Another great faculty which the poet must possess is imagination. The poet Shakespeare says

And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name ”

The faculty of imagination creates by-laws more closely connected with reason. It has strong emotion as its actuating and formative cause and it aims at results of a definite and weighty character. Inferior

to this higher faculty but almost equally important, is the faculty of fancy. It has for its activating spirit feelings of a lively, gay and versatile nature. Fancy is also a creative faculty. It does not of course create like imagination, sublime thought but extraordinary thought. Imagination is serious and profound in its nature while fancy is gay and comic in its features. The poet again must be a man of universal knowledge and wide experience. He has a very high and sacred mission to perform. He is the greatest teacher of mankind. In the words of Emerson— 'the poets are like living gods. They act up on our feelings, appeal to them and exalt them from lowness by refining them and ennobling them.'

The story of the Sakuntala as originally narrated in the Mahabharata is so unromantic and simple in its form that one could hardly imagine that it could be made the basis of the dramatic incidents as woven in the drama which for its plenitude of execution and the charms of the denouement hardly finds a parallel in the dramatic literature of the world. The prosaic story of the Mahabharata wanting in dramatic elements which give life and effect to a play has been dramatised by Kalidasa with that dramatic skill and mastery over his art which have made him immortal as the Shakespeare of India. Shakespeare has nowhere originated the main plots of his dramas. But in his hands they received life and meaning and made him what he is—the unrivaled master of his art. Kalidasa, too selected a mytholo-

gical love-story to serve as the basis of his drama, fully conscious that such a story would have greater charm for his countrymen. His dramatic genius, aided by his deep dramatic insight, quickly saw that the story though simple and unromantic in its form was preeminently fitted to be the nucleus of such dramatic situations and incidents as would stir up the hearts of his countrymen or rather all men of poetic susceptibility and produce a magical effect upon them. Goethe's words that 'the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted and fed' are literally true as applied to this illustrious drama of our poet. The faculty of imagination enabled our poet to body forth the forms of things unknown, to turn them to shapes and give to airy nothing—(the meagre story of the Mahabharata—) its form and existence. The pursuit of Sakuntala by a bee and her consequent flurry skilfully made the fit occasion for the king to make his appearance (Act I), the seizure of the skirts of her garment by a young deer (act IV), the singing in the beginning of act V which indirectly hints at the forgetfulness of the king of his former wife and which makes him as though love-lorn though he could not account for the cause, the unexpected recovery of the ring, the picture of the heroine and the consequent mental agony of the king (act VI), the soliloquy and the swoon of the king on hearing of the death of a rich merchant who died childless (act VI) these incidents dexterously interwoven in the construction of the play are productions of the fertile

fancy of the poet. The denouement of the drama in all its chief and subordinate parts is so gracefully conceived and sustained throughout that the stage effect in all its various forms is maintained on the audience and the different sentiments possess the soul and keep it completely entranced. There is perfect naturalness about the dramatic incidents; they gently rise up in the progress of the plot and all tend to make it a perfect creation. There is hardly any other drama which is equally faultless in the execution of the plot. The play is in short the climax of the poetic and dramatic powers of the poet. Kalidasa is regarded as a master of similes and of sweet and musical language. This is sufficiently borne out by the present play. The poet's observation of nature is very vivid and true to life. The highest merit for which Kalidasa is preeminently distinguished is the sublimity of his thoughts. There is nothing commonplace or vulgar about them. Though the principal sentiment is love we find no vulgarity in the expression of it. It is all pure and sublime and can be read without a blush. [In the writings of Shakespeare the sublimity of thought runs throughout, but there are places where we find so much vulgarity that we cannot but blush to read them. We cannot, however find one instance of vulgarity in the plays of Kalidasa.] No poet, in fact, suggests less readily comparison with Euripides than does Kalidasa. He has nothing of the questioning mind of the Greek dramatist, contemporary of the sophists and eager

enquirer into the validity of all established conventions. In style again he aims at a level of perfection of achievement which was neither sought nor attained by Euripides. If any parallel were worth making Kalidasa would fall to be ranked as the Sophokles of the Indian drama, for as far as any Indian poet could 'he saw life steadily and saw it whole,' and was free from the vain questionings which vexed the soul of Euripides Kalidasa, enjoying a full measure of prosperity in the golden age of India, viewed with a determined optimism all that passed before him in life in strange contrast to the bitterness of the denunciations of existence which Buddhism has set forth as its contribution to the problems of life

V. Another point should be noticed in the poet's *রুদ্ধবংশ* canto VI which may help us in determining the date of the poet. The texts of the slokas run thus :—

অথোরগাধ্যস্ত পুরস্ত নাথং দৌৰারিকী দেবসন্ধিপম্ম এত্ত।

ইতশ্চকোৱাক্ষি । বিলোকয়েতি পূর্বাশুশ্টাং নিজগাদ ভোজ্যাম্ম ॥ ৫৯
পাণ্ডোহ্যম্ম অংসার্পিতগম্ভহারঃ কৃপ্তাপুরাগো হরিষ্ণনেন ।

আভাতি বালাতপবজ্ঞসাত্তুঃ সনিবৰ্ত্তোদ্বার ইবাদ্বিৰাজঃ ॥ ৬০

From the above texts we understand that the metropolis of the Pandyas in k's days was the city of *Uragapura* (উৱগপুৱ). Mallinatha of the 14th century without any enquiry writes 'পাণ্ডোদেশে কান্তকুজ্জতীৱবজ্ঞনাগপুৱে' in interpreting উৱগপুৱ. But antiquarian researches shew that there is no *Nagapura* in the Pandya country. But there is one *Uraiyyur* the most

ancient capital of the colas According to the opinion of the late lamented Prof V Smith the Dravadian people of the south noted in ancient Sankrit literature, were the kolas the Pandya⁴, the Keralas and the ceras who always fought amongst one another for political supremacy and sometime one was predominant and sometime another In the यदित्तम् we find चेन्ऩाय्यायपि याइ न गोक्ते (Book II 52 35) Here we find the colas and the Pandyas treated as equals In the Rama yana we find the Pandyas alone mentioned and not the others (युक्त कप्पाटे पा-ज्ञानार शता अक्षय वानवा R IV 41 49) The Pandyas were then paramount and from the यदित्तम् in the यदि सर्व the Pandya king is called the paramount lord of the south (इत्तात्त्विहारव देवायामि दिश म त्वे भव दक्षिणाम्) From history we know that this supremacy of the Pandyas was overthrown by *Karikala* *cola* about the first century A D *Karikola* ¹ is said neglected *Uraiur* and removed the capital to *Kaveripattanam* After *Karikola* the Pandyas again became supreme in the days of *Nedum selm Pandya* He established the Pandya supremacy about the third century A D but the capital of the Pandya was *Madura*, which continued to be the capital of the Pandya country hereafter The Pandyas were overthrown in the 5th century by the *Pallavas* who became overlords of the south in the 6th and 7th centuries Now when K describes the Pandyas as supreme lords of the south with their capital at उराय्यूर (Uraiur) he must be referred to the 1st century BC

Had he lived in the 5th century, he must have described his পাঞ্জ king as lord of Madura. Again Kalidasa does not speak of the পল্লবস at all as he had flourished long ago. That the পাঞ্জস were the overlords of the south during K's time, we know again from Ragu IV in the description of বংশ's. বিশিষ্জনঃ He says—

দিশি মন্দারতে তেজো দক্ষিণশাঃ রবেরপি ।

তথামেব বংশোঃ পাঞ্জ্যাঃ অতাপং ন বিযেহিরে ॥

It is now quite clear without doubt that during K's time the Pandyas with উর্মগ্নপুর as their capital were the supreme lords of the south. This refers to the 1st century B. C. Hence K flourished in the 1st century B.C. Again in the দিগ্বিজ্য of রংশ, K says that রংশ conquered the যবনস in Afghanistan. Now it is quite known that there were no যবনস in Afghanistan in the the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries A.D. as Yavana-kindoms in the North-West of India had already been destroyed by the *Kushanas*. It was only in the 1st century B.C. that we had যবন kindoms in the North-West, both on the East and West of the Indus. As to how হুনস could be in the north of the Indus before the 5th century A.D., we must refer our readers to the মহাভারত where it is distinctly mentioned that the people to the north of India were the *Hunas* and the *Chinas*. There were numerous tribes of the হুনস and indeed they represent the Mongolian tribes to the North of India generally including the Tibetans. In short the realms of the North of India are always known to India as চোণ্ডুষ্ণ-নিধিবিত্তদেশ. Hence to place K. in the 1st century

BC the date of the Samvat era cannot be wrong

Three dramas of Kalidasa —(1) **मालविकाश्चिन्ता** (Malavikagnimitra) was unquestionably the first dramatic work of Kalidasa He seeks in the prologue (अनुवाद) to excuse his presumption of presenting a new play when tried favourite such as Bhasa Saumilla and the Kaviputras exist and in the Vikramorvarsiya (विक्रमोर्ष नीति) also he shows some diffidence, which has disappeared in the अभिजानशकुम्भ The great merits of the poet are far less clearly exhibited here than in his other plays It is a historical drama in five acts performed on a spring festival at Ujjayini It is a love drama of the type of the poet Bhasa on the theme of Udayana The विक्रमोर्ष शीर्ष (Vikramorvarsiya) was his second dramatical work It is a melodrama of the type of ट्रोटक (trotaka) and the theme is that of the love of king Pururavas and the celestial nymph (अप सरस्) Urvashi The अभिजान शकुम्भ the poet's last dramatic work, certainly represents the perfection of Kalidasa's art and may justly be assumed to belong to the latest period of his work Besides three dramas Kalidasa was the author of the ऋत्स शार cycle of the seasons (undoubtedly his first work) on lyric poetry while his master lyric was the देखदृत or cloud messenger His two master pieces on epic poetry were the रघुव श in 19 cantos and the द्वारमस्त्र श in 17 cantos

Chandra or Chandraka—The Buddhist drama लोकानन्द (Lokananda) has been ascribed to him and

Kalhana places him under Tunjina of Kasmir Nothing more is known about him

Harsha : Three dramas, as well as some minor poetical works, have come down to us under the name of Harsha, the king of शास्त्राश्रम and काश्मीर who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D, the patron of Banabhatta, who celebrates him in his historical prose-romance वर्षचरित, and of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang who is our most valuable source of information on his reign. That the three plays, श्रीयदर्शिका, नागानन्द and रञ्जावली, are by one hand is made certain in part by the common ascription in a verse in the prologue mentioning Harsha as an accomplished poet, partly by the recurrence of two verses in the श्रीयदर्शिका and the नागानन्द and of one in the former play and the रञ्जावली and above all by the absolute-similarity of tone and style in the three works. मञ्चित्तेष्ट in the काव्यथेकाश refers to the gift of gold to Banabhatta (or Dhavaka in some manuscripts) by Harsha. The commentators explain this of the रञ्जावली, which was passed off in Harsha's name. But I'Tsing clearly refers to the dramatization of the subject of the नागानन्द by Harsha and its performance, and in the फृष्टनीमक्त of दामोदरशुष्ठ (who lived under जङ्गलैड of Kasmir, 779—813 A.D,) a performance of the रञ्जावली ascribed to a king, is mentioned. Most probably Harsha wrote the dramas himself with such aid as his court pandits might give. The श्रीयदर्शिका and the रञ्जावली, are two नाटिकाश (melo dramas) in four acts very closely connected both in form and subject-

matter the common hero in both being उत्थन whom Bhasa had already celebrated in his शिरायोगकथाम् and यथामयना (or यथनाटिक) The नागानन्द is a राट्रिक (drama proper) in 5 acts and is the dramatization of a Buddhist legend the self sacrifice of the Vidyadhara prince वृत्तवान first narrated in उत्ताप्त वृहद्कथा and then in the वेतालपक्षिधि शति

Mahendra Vikramavarman (महेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मन्). Almost contemporary to Harsha was Mahendra Vikramavarman son of the Pallava king शशिविजयन्, and himself a king with the styles of अवनिभाषन उण्ड, and शतविलास who ruled in Kanchi in the first quarter of the 7th century A D Chance has preserved for us his नृसन नक्तविलास, which is so far the only early farce published and which has a special interest in showing signs of the same technique as that of Bhasa

Bhavabhuti (भवभूति) —He tells us in the prologues (प्रतावना) of his three dramas (मरावाचित्रित, शान्तशाधव and उदुम्बराचित्रित) that he belonged to the उदुम्बर (Udumbara) Brahman family of Padmapura in Vidarva who were of the Kasyapa gotra and followed the लिङ्गिव्रीष्म school of the Black Yajurveda (द्वंक्षयवृद्धेन), and that his full name was विक्रृष्ट नामदृष्ट son of Nilakantha and Jatukarni (जातुकर्णी), grand son of Bhattiagopala He was skilled in grammar rhetoric logic and mimansa He is said to have been a pupil of Kumarila He expressly mentions his knowledge of the Vedas the Upanishadas Sankhya and Yoga and names जाननिधि as his teacher His three plays were performed for the festival of the lord Kalapriya (काल-

প্রিয়নাথ) who is normally identified with মহাকাল of Ujjayini, though the scene of the Malati-madhava is laid in Padmavati. It appears that he left home and proceeded to Ujjayini or Padmavati in quest of fortune. Kalhana in the Rajatarangini expressly asserts, that he was a member of the entourage of Yasovarman of Kanyakubja who was defeated by Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kasmir, not earlier than 736 A D The poet বাক্পতি in his epic Gaudavaha in Prakrit refers to Bhavabhuti's ocean of poetry. Bana's silence about him suggests that he was not known to him. The first writer on poetics to cite him is Vamana. Verses not found in the extant three dramas are ascribed to him, so he may have written works other than the two dramas on Ramachandra (i e. the মহাবৌরচরিত and the উত্তরামচরিত) and the social drama (প্রকৃত) on Malati and Madhava. His friendship with actors is a trait to which he himself refers and efforts have been made to trace in his works evidence of revision for stage-purposes Amongst the three dramas of Bhavabhuti মহাবৌরচরিত was his first work, মালতীমাধব was his second work and the উত্তরামচরিত his last work Tradition, however, ascribes the composition of the first 4 acts and up to stanza 46 of act V of the মহাবৌরচরিত to Bhavabhuti and the rest to শ্রেন্দ্রণ্যক ব. Bhavabhuti was induced to write his social drama মালতীমাধব in an effort to vie with the author of the মৃচ্ছকটিক. To make up for his inefficiency in comic composition he gave up boldly the part of the Vidushaka and selected for his theme

in lieu of comic relief incidents of the terrible and horrible type blended with the supernatural Bhavabhuti was indeed a very learned poet of a high order but either in the राजाराजेन्द्रित or in the Uttara Ramcharit he reached no higher level as a dramatist. He had a period of 12 years to cover in the उत्तरारामचरित as he had 14 in the राजाराजेन्द्रित and to produce effective unity would be hard for any dramatist. The poet made no serious effort to this end. He has contented himself with imagining a series of striking pictures. As a poem the merits of the उत्तरारामचरित are patent and undeniable. Bhavabhuti's temper was akin to the grand and the inspiring in life and nature. The play blends the martial fervour of Rama and his gallant son with the haunting pathos of fate of the deserted queen and the forests, the mountains and the rivers in the first three acts afford abundant opportunity for his great ability in depicting the rugged as well as the tender elements of nature. What is awe inspiring and magnificent in its grandeur has an attraction for Bhavabhuti which is not shown in the more limited love of nature in Kalidasa. He excels Kalidasa also in the last act for the reunion of Sita and Rama has a depth of sentiment not evoked by the tamer picture of the meeting of Dushyanta and Sakuntala both Rama and Sita being creatures of more vital life and deeper experience than the king and his woodland love. We find in Bhavabhuti in a degree unknown to Kalidasa child of fortune, to whom life appeared as an ordered

Joyous whole, the sense of the mystery of things, 'what brings things together', he says, 'is some mysterious inward tie, it is certainly not upon outward circumstances that affection rests'. Self-sacrifice is a reality to Bhavabhuti. Friendship is to him sacred, to guard a friend's interests at the cost of one's own, to avoid in dealings with him all malice and guile and to strive for his weal as if for one's own is the essential mark of one's true friendship. Admirable indeed is his conception of love. It is the same in happiness and sorrow, adapted to every circumstance of life, in which the heart finds solace, unspoiled by age, mellowing and becoming more valuable as in the course of time all reserve dies away. The child completes the union of conjugal life, it ties in a common knot of union the strands of its parent's hearts.

বিশাখদত্ত and ভট্টভারভূগঃ—A curious vagueness besets our knowledge of Visakhadatta or Visakhadeva son of Mahiraja Bhaskaradatta (ভাস্করদত্ত) or the minister Prithu (পৃথু), grandson of the feudatory Vateswaradatta (বটেশ্বরদত্ত). None of these persons are known elsewhere and for his date we are reduced to conjectures. But whatever the date of the dramatist be, his মুদ্রারাক্ষস (Mudrarakshasa) is one of the great Sanskrit dramas. It is a drama of political intrigue, centred in the person of Rakshasa (রাক্ষস), formerly minister of the Nandas, who is now sworn to revenge their destruction on Chanakya (চানক্য), the Brahman who vowed to ruin them, and who, in

pursuance of this end secured an alliance between Chandragupta their rival and Parvateswara (पर्वतेश्वर) or Parvataka and attacked Pataliputra the metropolis of the Nandas Rakshasa seeing resistance vain surrendered the city the last of the royal house, सर्वार्थसिद्धि (Sarvarthasiddhi), retired to an ascetic life and Rakshasa left to weave plots elsewhere His effort by a poison maiden (विषकृतप्रयोग) to slay Chandragupta miscarried in stead Parvataka fell a victim through Chanakya's cunning This so far aided Rakshasa that Parvatika's son Malayaketu left Chandragupta and is now Rakshasa's ally preparing with the aid of a host of motley origin including the princes of Kuluta Malaya Kasmir Scind and Persia to attack the metropolis Act I shews Chanakya's schemes His determination to secure Rakshasa as minister for Chandragupta for he is convinced of Rakshasa's worth and has no desire himself to rule He learns from his spy Nipunaka that he has found a Jain Jivasiddhi who is ostensibly hostile to the king but is really Chanakya's agent that the scribe Sakatadasa is a real enemy as is Chanadasa the jeweller in whose house are Rakshasa's wife and child that he has by good luck secured the signet ring of Rakshasa (राक्षस मुख्यात्मौर्य) dropped down in pulling indoors the child Taking advantage of the signet ring Chanakya writes a letter gets it copied in good faith by Sakatadasa and seal it with Rakshasa's seal on the signet ring Sakatadasa is then arrested and on the point of impalement

he is rescued by Siddharthaka, another spy of the minister who flees to Rakshasa. Jivasiddhi is banished in ignominy to the same destination and Chandanadasa is flung into prison to await death for having harboured Rakshasa's family which has scaped. In fine, report of the flight of Bhagurayana and others of the court and receipt of the news by Chanakya with composure, as they are really his emissaries close Act I. Act II. Rakshasa's counterplots In the guise of a serpent-charmer, Rakshasa's spy, Viradhabaka reports that the scheme to murder Chandragupta (as he passed under a coronation arch) has failed, while Vairodhaka (বৈরোধক), Malayaketu's uncle (who stayed when his nephew fled and had been crowned as lord of half the realm) has been slain, that Abhayadatta who offered poison to Chandragupta has been forced to drink the draught, that Pramodaka, the chamberlain, has flaunted the wealth sent to him to use in bribes and is now dead in misery, that the bold spirits instructed to issue from a subterranean passage into Chandragupta's bed-chamber have been detected by the king through the sight of ants bearing a recent meal and burnt in agony in their hiding place, that জাবসিদ্ধি is banished, শকটদাস is condemned to the stake and that চন্দনদাস is condemned to the same fate. The tale of woe is interrupted by the advent of শকটদাস with সিদ্ধার্থক restoring his seal to বাঙ্গস and saying that he had picked it up at Chandanadasa's house. He now begs permission to remain in his train. বিবাধক tells him

now that चंद्रगुप्त is tired of चाँदा At this moment राज्यम् is asked if he will buy some precious jewels and he hastily bids शक्तेश्वरम् see to the price quite unaware that they are sent by चाँदा to entrap him

Act III Chanakya's height of state craft A fine scene of mock quarrel bet चाँदा and चंद्रगुप्त on the score of the former for bidding all feasting without consulting his majesty Chandragupta upbraids Chanakya and the minister taunts him with ingratitude and insolence, resigns his office and leaves in high dudgeon Rakshasa's fortunes seem again fair

Act IV भोजराज् and his party (now in Malya ketu's employ under राज्यम्) tell राज्यकेतु that they desire to deal direct with him and not Rakshasa, who (they tell him plainly) is no real foe of Chandragupta If चाँदा were out of the way there would be no thing to hinder his allying himself with Chandragupta राज्यकेतु is perplexed and to his utmost astonishment he overhears a conversation bet राज्यम् and a courier bearing the glad tidings of the split bet the king and his minister चाँदा when चंद्रगुप्त exclaims with high delight that चंद्रगुप्त is now in the palms of of his hands (एवंगत) which राज्यकेतु misunderstands as indicating meditation of an alliance with चंद्रगुप्त Malyaketu sees राज्यम् with full suspicion when राज्यम् advises him for advance The act ends with श्रीवसिष्ठ's admission to see राज्यम् when the former as an astrologer advises the latter in a lore which is really a presage of disaster

Act V श्रीवसिष्ठ approaches भोजराज्, who is entrusted with the grant of permits to leave the camp and admits (with feigned

reluctance) in order to get a permit, that he fears राक्षस who used him formerly when he was arranging for the poisoning of पर्वत but now seeks to slay him. Overhearing this, मन्यकेतु is wild with rage मिकार्थक appears now as a prisoner caught trying to escape without a passport, beaten he gives evidence against राक्षस in the shape of the letter in act I written by शकटदास, which he asserts he was to bear to Chandragupta from Rakshasa, a jewel sealed like the letter, with Rakshasa's seal—one given by मन्यकेतु to राक्षस and by him to मिकार्थक for rescuing शकटदास and a verbal message stating the terms demanded by the allied kings for their treachery, and राक्षस's own demand, the removal of चाणक्य मन्यकेतु sees राक्षस with the proofs and the minister, as fate would have it, makes his case worse by assigning to the allied kings the proud duty of guarding मन्यकेतु's person, which मन्यकेतु interprets as a device to facilitate their treachery. Rakshasa is bewildered—in spite of his denial of the message, the seal and the writing are genuine, can शकटदास have turned a traitor through fear? The fine jewel in the hand of राक्षस (one of those purchased in act II) was that of मन्यकेतु's father and it can not but be the price of राक्षस's treachery. Incensed, the foolish king gives orders to bury alive those allied princes who craved territory as their reward and to trample under elephants those who sought them as their share. All is confusion and Rakshasa, insolently spared, slips away to fulfil his duty of rescuing his friend चन्द्रनदास.

Act VI Rakshasa in the metropolis is soliloquizing on the failure of all his ends and the fate of his friend Here he learns from one who pretends him self a friend of चन्द्रदास (but who is really a spy of चाणक्य) that all his attempt to save his friend runs no chance of success save and except his self sacrifice The net is now firmly cast Act VII चन्द्रदास is led to the place of execution with his wife and child beside him the wife determined to die with her husband द्राघि intervenes चाणक्य and चक्रवर्ती enter Rakshasa at last decides to accept the office of minister pressed on him by both चाणक्य and चक्रवर्ती when thus alone he can save the lives of चन्द्रदास and his friends Milayaketu's massacre of the princes has broken the host into fragments and the apparent rebels have taken the moment to capture him and his court As minister Rakshasa is permitted to free चक्रवर्ती and restore his lands, चन्द्रदास is rewarded and a general amnesty is approved The scene of Chandanadasa led out to death with his wife and child beside him has been imitated from the युद्धकर्तिक

Characterization The interest in the action never flags, the characters of चाणक्य and द्राघि are excellent foils Each in his own way is admirable चाणक्य in his undying and just hatred of the Nandas and द्राघि in his unsparing devotion to their cause his noble desire to save चन्द्रदास and his fine submission for the sake of others to a yoke he had purposed never to bear The maxims of politics in which

both delight amuse the audience. The plots and counterplots of both ministers are the type of old Indian policy of state-craft. The minor figures are all interesting সিদ্ধার্থক and সমিদ্ধার্থক, are gentlemen who even disguise themselves as চঙ্গুলis in act VII, to serve চাপক's aims, নিপুণক, whose cleverness in finding the seal justifies the name he bears, is a living character, the disguised বিরাধক, the honest শকটদাস and the noble চন্দনদাস and his wife (the single female character in the drama) are all painted life-like. The kings চৰুণপ্র and মন্মথকেতু represent the contrast of ripe intelligence with youthful ardour and the weak petulance of one who does not know men's worth and who rashly and cruelly slays his allies on the faith of treachery. ভাষ্মবায়ুন, the false friend deluding মন্মথকেতু in চৰুণপ্র's interest, is a carefully drawn figure. He dislikes the work but dismisses repulsion as essentially the result of dependence which forbids a man to judge between right and wrong. বিশ্বাখদত্ত's diction is admirably direct and forcible. The martial character of his dramas reflects itself in the clearness, and rapidity of his style. As an artist in essentials he uses images and figures of speech with tasteful moderation. He realizes full well that he is writing a drama for play and not composing sets of elegant extracts. রাঙ্গন's name inevitably demands the usual play on its sense of demoniac, but মন্মথকেতু's feeling redeems the use from triviality (cf. V. 7). The martial spirit of রাঙ্গন is admirably brought out in Act II. 14. The

burden of duty is expressed admirably in II 19. The minister's resolve to save his friend is forcibly put in VI 21. There is grim humour in the command of the infuriated Malayaketu 'Those who desired my land take and cast into a pit and cover with dust those two who sought my army of elephants slay by an elephant and in the Chandala's remark when he bids his friend impale Chandana dasa His family will go off quickly enough of their own accord. The revelation of जौवसिक्षि's treachery wrings from Rakshasa the cry "My very heart has been made their own by my foes' The Sanskrit of the drama is classical and the Prakrits number three for in addition to the normal शैवस्मैनी and माहाराष्ट्री नागदी has been used by the Jain monk, by सिक्षार्थक and मिक्षार्थक as Chandalas, by a servant and an envoy.

ଭଟ୍ଟନାରାୟଣ (Bhattacharayana)—From a tradition preserved in the Tagore family we know that he was one of the Brahmins summoned from Kanyakubja to Bengal by Adisura the founder of a dynasty of II kings who ruled before the Pal dynasty. Adisura Adityasena son of Madhavagupta of Magadha, was made independent of Kanyakubja by his father and ruled in Bengal towards the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhattacharayana chose one episode from the Mahabharata and composed his drama Venisan hara (ବେଣୀଶ ହାତ) One of the worst of the insults heaped on Draupadi in the gambling scene of the epic is the dragging of her by the hair before the assembly by

Duhsasana (ଦୁଃଶାସନ), whereupon she vowed never to braid her hair again until the insult would be avenged and the drama concluded with full revenge by Bhimasena. The play on the whole is undramatic, the action being choked by narrative. But the characterisation is good. Horror and Pathos are not lacking. The style is clear and not lacking either in force or dignity. But many of the defects of Bhavabhuti are found in the ବେର୍ଣ୍ଣଦୁଃଶାସନ.

Vakpati of the court of King Yasovarman of Kanyakubja was the author of a drama called ରାମାଭ୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟ (Ramabhyudaya) Anangabarsha Matraraja, mentioned by Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, was author of the drama Tapasa-vatsaraja-cbarita (ତାପସବଂସରାଜ୍ଚରିତ) which is a variation on the theme of the ruse of ଶ୍ରୀରମାଯୀ to secure the marriage of ସୁମରାଜୁ and ପଲ୍ଲ୍ବାବତୀ, in face of the deep love of the king for ସୁମରାଜୁ. Mayuraja was author of the drama ଉଦ୍‌ଦ୍ୱାରାସବ. ପାବରାପିନ୍ୟ, in 5 acts, once ascribed to ବାଦ୍ଦତ୍ତ, is now allotted to ସମନଭଟ୍ଟବାଣ (1400 A. D.) ମଲିକବାମାଳି, a prakarana (social drama) in 10 acts, wrongly thought to be a work of Dandin, is the work of one Uddandin (ଉଦ୍ଦଦିନ) of the 17th century ଛଲିତରାମ, referred to by Dhanika in his comment on the Dasarupa, with the name of the author unknown, is a Rama drama Murari (ମୁରାରି, — was son of ଶ୍ରୀରମାନକ of the ମୌଦ୍ଗିଳାଗୋତ୍ର and son of Tantumati (ତନ୍ତୁମତୀ) He claims to be a ମହାକବି and arrogates the style of ବାଲବାନୀକି. The Kasmirian poet ରାଜାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର in his epic ହରବିଜ୍ଞୟ makes a clear reference to ମୁରାରି as a

dramatist The poet mentions मंडभाटा (Mandhata) on the Narmada as the place of his activity under the Kalachuri monarch अनार्घ्यराघव (Anargha Raghava) is the only dramatic work we get of the author राजसेखरा (राजसेखर) — He was of a Mahihrishi Kshatriya family of the Yajurvedas who claimed descent from Ramachandri He was son of the minister Durdula or Duhika and of Silavati and grand son of Akala jñāna He married अद्वितीया of the Cabamini family and was a moderate Saiva His first work अप्सरासगी, a सृष्टि in 4 acts in Prakrit was produced at the request of his wife His second work वाल नारायण a रथानाटक in 16 acts was produced at the request of Mahendrapala king of Mahodaya or Kanyakubja His विष्णुलक्ष्मिद्वा, a regular नाटक in 4th acts was produced for the Kalachuri king yuvavirji Keyuravirshi of Tripuri His राजारुत is miserably unfinished It covers the marriage of Draupadi and the gambling scene with the ill usage of Draupadi राजसेखर is devoid of the power to create a character In all his works the author is merely concerned with exercises in style भीमट (Bhimata) — Rajasekhara ascribes 5 dramas to Bhimata of which the स्वप्नदास (Swapna Dasavatara) won him chief fame He is described as a Kahn jarapati केनीर्पति (Kshemiswara) wrote his चंदकौसिक (Chandakausika) a drama in 7 acts for king Mahipala of Kanyakubja He has left two dramas (1) The नैसाधनन्द (Naisadhananda) in 7 acts deals with the legend of Nala of the Mahabharata and

(2) the Chandakausika reveals the story of Harischandra, who seeing as he thought the sacrifice of a damsel on the fire rebukes the Kausika Viswamitra and in return for his gallant action is cursed by the sage, who was merely bringing the sciences under his control. He secures pardon by surrender of the earth and a thousand gold pieces. To secure the latter he sells his wife (Saivya) and child to a Brahman and himself to a Chandala as a cemetery-keeper. One day his wife brings the dead body of their son, but it turns out merely to be a trial of his character, his son is alive and is crowned king.

Decadence of Sanskrit drama Real merit in dramatic works began to decline with Murari and Rajasekhara. Mahomedan conquest took away the life of drama altogether. The character of decline is obvious in the *ପ୍ରସନ୍ନବାଧବ* (Prasanna Raghava) a ନାଟକ in 7 acts, in which the logician ଜୟଦେବ (1200 A. D.), son of ମହାଦେବ and ଶୁଗିତ୍ରୀ of Kundina in Berar endeavours to tell again the story of the Ramayana. The play is typical of the later drama. The ଜାନକୀ ପରିଣୟ of ରାମଭଦ୍ରନୀକ୍ଷିତ and the ଅଳ୍ପତତର୍ପଣ of ମହାଦେବ are the worst types of the age of dramatic decline. Of historical drama we have little and of small value (1) The *ନଲିତବିଗ୍ରହରାଜନାଟକ* is a drama of the latter part of 12th century by ମୋହନ୍ଦେବ in honour of ବୈମଳଦେବ ବିଗ୍ରହରାଜ, the Cahamana (2) The *ପ୍ରତାପକୁର୍କଳ୍ୟାଣ* of ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଥ inserted in his work on rhetoric as an illustration of drama, celebrates his patron, a king of warangal about 1300 A D. (3) The *Hammiramada-mardana*,

(1219-1229 A.D.) by अदिति ह श्रवि the priest of the temple of शनिवार वट at Broach, is an interesting drama

Allegorical drama (मात्रकथा) It cannot be said for certainty that the व्रोध चतुर्दश (Prabodha Chadrodaya) of Krishna misra was a revival of the allegorical drama which had been practised regularly on a small scale since अद्योत. The अद्योत चतुर्दश is an allegorical drama in six acts composed in the 11th century by the poet. It is devoted to the defence of the अद्योत form of the Vishnu doctrine i, e a combination of Vedanta and Vishnuism शक्तिश्च example has caused the production of numerous dramas of the same type, but of much less value (1) सद्गुरुद्देश्य of Venkatanatha of the 14th century, is excessively dreary, but it is better than the famous (2) देवताचतुर्दश of Kavi कृष्ण which is an account of देवता's success but which fails to convey any suggestion of his spiritual power (3 & 4) Two देव dramas are the दिव्यापर्वाण and द्वौवानद्वन (Towards the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries They have no merits (5) एहाराज परावर्य of यश लाल, son of minister एहाराज and शक्ति of the Modha Bania caste is again an allegorical drama in 5 acts dealing with the conquest of king Confusion describing the conversion of the Chalukya king of Guzrat Kumarapila to Jainism his prohibition of slaugter of animals &c

Natika and Sattaka (1) वर्णश्लो of Bilhana (10
80-90 A D), written out of compliment to Karna-
deva Trailokyamalla of Anhilvad on the occasion of
celeb rating his wedding in the advanced age with

Miyanilladevi, daughter of the Karnata king, अयकेश्विनी, wrote the *Paramara अद्युनवर्ष्ण* of Dhara, preceptor of the Paramara अद्युनवर्ष्ण, wrote the *विजयन्त्री* or *पारिज्ञातन्त्री*, a *नाटका* in 4 acts which is also a historical drama. (3) वृषभानुजा of गृथ्वानाम, a *kaystha*, is a *नाटका* on the love of Krishna and Radha (4) *शिवनारायणभक्तग्रहोदय* is a historical, philosophic play of Narasinha in honour of a prince of Keonjhor. (5) आनन्दस्तन्त्री of घनश्याम, minister of the Maratha Tukkoji, and the (6) शृग्नारमण्ड्री of the Almora poet विश्वेश्वर of the 18th century are two *Sattakas*.

Prakarana · The example of the शृक्षकटिक induced few imitations. (1) The *मल्लिकामारुत* of Uddandin or Uddandanatha, a court poet of the Zemindar of Calicut (कूलूटकोड़ा) in the middle of the 11th century, is a very bad and unsuccessful imitation of *गानतीर्णाधर* of Bhavabhuti (2) *क्षेमदीगित्रानन्द* in 10 acts written about 1173—1176 A.D. by Ramachandra, a Jain and pupil of Hemachandra, is a अकरण as undramatic as the *मल्लिकामारुत*. (3) *अवृक्षरोहिण्येय* is another Jain अकरण in 6 acts by ब्राह्मदेवमूनि, pupil of ज्यप्रभुवि (about 12th century A.D.)

Prahasana & Bhana · (1) *Latakamelaka* (लटकमेलक) of the earlier part of the 12th century under गोविन्दचंद्र of Kanyakubja composed by शशाधर कविगांडि is a अहमन or farce in one act (2) *धूर्त्तमगागम* of खेडित्रीश्वर कविश्वर under king नरसिंह of विजयनगर (1487—1507 A.D.) is another farce. (3) *हास्यार्थ* of जगदीश्वर is another अहमन (4) *कोतुकसर्वदा* of गोपीनाथ चण्डेश्वरी, written for festival of the दुर्गापूजा in Bengal

is another ଶ୍ରୀହମନ, (5) The ମୁହୁର୍ତ୍ତକ of ଶାମରାଜନୀକିତ of the 17th century is another ଶ୍ରୀହମନ (1) ଶୁରାଦର୍ଶନ of ବାମନତୁର୍ଗୀ (about 1500 A D) is a drama of the ଭାଗ type (2) ଶୁରାରତ୍ନିକ or ଅଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକ of ରାମତ୍ରସାରିତ written to rival the ସମସ୍ତତିତକ or ଅଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକ of ସର୍ବରାଜ୍ୟ ଅତିଥିକ, the Vaishnava is a drama of the ଭାଗ type (3) ଶାନ୍ତିକିତ of Sankara is another ଭାଗ (4) We find a type of mixed ଭାଗ in the ମୁହୁର୍ତ୍ତକ of କାଶୋପତି କବିରାଜ not earlier than 13th century

Minor dramatic types (1) The ପାର୍ଵତୀର୍ଥିତ of ଶ୍ରୀହମନଦେବ is a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତିକ of the 12th century (2) କିରାତାଛୁ ନୀତି of ସମସ୍ତରାଜ୍ୟ minister of Paramardideva of Kalanjira, is a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତିକ based on ଭାଗବି's epic (3) The କର୍ମଚାରୀର୍ଥିତ is a ଭାଗ of the orthodox type (4) The ହାତ୍ତୁଭୂତାନ୍ତିକ is a farce in one act (5) ମୋଗକିକାହର୍ଣ୍ଣ of about 1316 AD is a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତିକ by ବିଶ୍ୱନାଥ dealing with ଭୌମନେନ୍'s visit to Kuvera's lake to fetch water lilies for ଦ୍ରୌପଦୀ, his struggles with ଇନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତିକ and the yakshas and his final victory The Pandavas meet at Kuvera's home and Draupadi obtains her desired flowers (6) The ଧନ୍ୟବିଜ୍ୟ of କାଞ୍ଚନପଣ୍ଡିତ, son of ନାରାୟଣ is a ଭାଗ dealing with the prowess of Arjuna in the defeat of Duryodhana and the Kauravas when they raid the cattle of Virata The description of the contest in which Arjuna uses magic weapons given by Indra and a couple of his celestial entourage The play ends with the giving to Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son Uttara daughter of king ବିରାଟ, in marriage Of the type of ଦୈହୟୁଗ we have କ୍ରମ୍ଭାବୀର୍ଣ୍ଣ of ସମସ୍ତରାଜ୍ୟ in 4 acts dealing with the success of କୃଷ୍ଣ in depriving ଶିଶୁପାଳ of ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରି of କ୍ରମ୍ଭାବୀ his promised bride Other dramas of this

type are the (1) the বৌর বিজয় of কৃষ্ণনির্মল and (2) সর্ববিনোদ নাটক of কৃষ্ণ অবধূত ষট্টকাশ নাটকবিদি. To বৎসরাজ is attributed a specimen of the ভিন্ন, the ত্রিপুরনাথ in 4 acts describing the destruction of the capital of ত্রিপুরাস্ত্রব শিব বৎসরাজ is also responsible for a মনবকারি, the মধুসূ-মহন in 3 acts. The অক্ষ or one act play is often applied to denote a play within another play (otherwise called গর্ভাক্ষ), for example in the বান্ধবানামৃত of রাজশেখর, the name প্রেক্ষণক is applied to such plays. The same name is also given to the উপন্থত্রাণ্য of ভাস্তুরকবি. The term প্রেক্ষণক is also applied to the কৃষ্ণভূজদূষ of লোকনাথ Bhatta, written for the raintime procession of the Lord of Hastigiri, Vishnu, in Kanchi. Of the উপকৃতপক্ষ, we have দানকেশলিঙ্গেশ্বরী, a ভাণিকা, by Rupagoswamin. We have also the শুভজ্ঞা-হরণ of মাধব son of গঙ্গলেখর ভট্ট and ইন্দুগতী which is a শ্রীগদি.

Shadow play (ছায়ানাটক): (1) ধৰ্মাভ্যাদয় of মেঘ-অভাবার্য় is the first shadow play we have. In the stage direction it mentions clearly a puppet (পুত্রক) and calls itself a ছায়ানাট্যপ্রেক্ষণ (2) The দৃগদৰ্শ of শুভট্ট is the second ছায়ানাটক. (3) হিন্দুত্ত, deals with the legend given in the দৃতবাক্য of ভাস of the mission of কৃষ্ণ to the Kauravas to seek to attain peace.

Dramas of irregular type : (1) সহানাটক—Professor Ludus includes it in the list of ছায়ানাটক. It is a drama of the irregular type. According to the commentator গোহনদাস and the ভোজপ্রেক্ষ of Ballala, the play was put together by order of king Bhoja from fragments found on rocks which were fished out of the sea. The tradition was that হৃদ্যান্ত himself wrote the

work (wherefore it is also called द्वादश) but to please saint Valmiki the generous devotee permitted the saint to cast into the sea the drama which he had inscribed on the rocks. We have two recensions of the work in 9 or 10 acts by रामन and in 14 acts by श्री नारदस्मिति. Its type may well be compared with that of the Gita gavindī of शशीदत्त of the time of king लक्ष्मण of Bengal (12th century A.D.), which exhibits songs sung by Krishna, Radha and her companion intermingled with lyric stanzas of the devoted poet, describing their position or the emotions excited and addressing prayers to Krishna. The Gitagovindī is a lyric poem capable of a qua : dramatic presentation. It reveals a highly developed outcome of the Bengal yatras of Krishna religion. In the गोपालकेशवस्त्रिका of Ramakrishna of Gujarat, later than the रामाटक and the चार्णवत्पूर्णा we have an irregular drama whose form has excited a large number of conjectures including the inevitable but absurd solution of a shadow play.

Summary of types of drama (1) The highest of the ten main forms of drama (क्रमक) is the गाउक or heroic drama, the subject matter being drawn from tradition, not invented the hero being a king a royal sage or a god appearing in human form and the dominant sentiment (मुख्य) to be the heroic (वीर) or the erotic (भूषण), with all other sentiments as secondary the sentiment of wonder (अद्वितीय) being well suited for the denouement which should be led up through the whole series of stages of the action.

and junctures. The end must be happy, tragedy being forbidden. The prose must be simple with out elaborate compounds and verses sweet and clear and the number of acts from 5 to 10. (1) If a play contains every kind of episode it is called, মহানাটক, if it has 10 acts (2) The bourgeois comedy, অঞ্চলিক, is a social comedy of manners of a rank below royalty and in the main it follows the laws of construction of the নাটক. The subject-matter is to be framed at his pleasure by the playwright. This drama offers an appropriate place for slaves, বিট্টস, merchant chiefs and rogues of various kinds. The erotic sentiment (শূদ্রাত্ম) dominates here. The number of acts should be as in a নাটক and the name should be derived from the hero or heroine or both or the principal subject-matter. (3) সমবকারি is a supernatural drama, the plot being taken from a tale of the gods and demons, the junctures (সংক্ষি) being omitted and the expansion (বিবর) being the principal element of the plot. The number of heroes may reach 12, the heroic sentement dominating each act exhibiting one type of cheating, tumultuous action and love অমৃতমন্ত্র and ভাস's পঞ্চবাত্র are best dramas of this type (4) দীর্ঘায়ুগ had its origin to the fact that in it a maiden as hard to attain as a gazelle is sought after (দীর্ঘা). The subject matter is one partly from legend and partly from the poetic imagination, but it must avoid death of a great man. The hero (নায়ক) and his rival (প্রতিনায়ক) must both be of noble and haughty type, the latter doing wrong in error. মুখ, অতিমুখ, অবসর্প and নির্বহণ সংক্ষি (junctures)

are allowed It may have one act or four acts (5)
 भिय— the subject is to be legendary with no juncture
 heroes to be gods, demi gods and demons all of the
 haughty type (रौद्ररम्प्रधान), magic sorcery combats,
 eclipses of the sun and the moon are in place Erotic
 and comic sentiments are to be excluded that of fury
 (रौद्ररम्प) to be predominant Acts to be 4 without
 अवेशक and विषयक The graceful manner is forbidden
 त्रिपुरादाह and मत्तारथेन are best specimens of this type
 (6) व्यायोग— is a military spectacle the subject
 matter being legendary and the hero being a god
 or royal sage It is in one act the action not extend-
 ing over a day, filled with strife and bittle and
 मृथ अतियुक्त and निवृहण संक्षिप्त बैन, गूल्लो and the खूबार
 and हात्त रम्पs being barred (7) अक or उक्तिकाक is a
 single act play whose longer style serves to des-
 criminate it from an act of a normal drama The sub-
 ject matter is taken from legend with development
 of the poet मृथसंक्षि and निवृहणसंक्षि being permitted
 alone The hero to be human of the common folk
 and the sentiment to be pathetic (करण शमिष्ठा यथाकृति
 is a masterpiece of this type (8) प्रह्लन or farce has
 every sign of popular origin and vogue The plot is
 the poet's invention and it deals with the tricks and
 quarrels of low characters of every kind There is
 but one act and only मृथसंक्षि and निवृहणसंक्षि there
 the predominating sentiment being रात्र (comic) There
 are three types of प्रह्लन (A) the pure (शुद्ध
 प्रह्लन) is that in which heretics Brahmins men and
 maidservants and parasites are represented in appro-

priate costume and language, (B) The *বিদ্ধি* (বিদ্ধি প্রহসন) fied represents eunuchs, chamberlains, and ascetics in the garb and with speech of lovers. (e) The mixed (মিশ্রপ্রহসন) contains the elements of the *বাধী* and is filled with rogues. The graceful and violent manners are excluded in all farces. (9) ভাষণ or monologue has its subject-matter invented by the poet. There are only মুখসংক্ষিপ্ত and নির্বাচন সংক্ষিপ্ত in it. It is complete in one act. The elements of the *বাধা* are specially in place. The *শাশ্বতাত্ত্বিক* and *লীলামধুকর* are specimens of this type. (10) *বাধী* or garland has a certain similarity to the *Bhana* as it includes frequent speeches in the air (আকাশভাষিত) and is in one act. But it is played by one or two actors or by three, one of each station in rank. The leading sentiment is the erotic (শুদ্ধার), but others are hinted at. Only মুখসংক্ষিপ্ত and নির্বাচন সংক্ষিপ্ত are allowed, but all the elements of the plot are present. The *মালবিকা* (certainly not *মালাবকা ঘামত্ব* of *Kalidasa*) is a specimen of this type. The first act of *মালতীমাধব* of *Bhavabhuti* is called *বক্তৃবাধী*, but it is in no sense even taken by itself an example of this type.

Types of উপরূপক: উপরূপক fall into 18 types :
 (1) *নাট্য*—with the hero a gay king and the intrigue consisting of his efforts to attain marriage with the heroine, an ingénue of a royal family, who by some accident or design has been introduced into the royal harem in an inferior capacity. The lovers have to strive against the jealousy of the queen, a lady of mature character and devotion to the king, who at

last is induced to sanction the nuptials with introduction of music song and dance as elements in the entertainment of court life Graceful manner with erotic sentiment is pre eminent and within 4 acts The **नाटिक** has व्याकुल in abundance (2) **प्राकृतिक** or the little bourgeois comedy is precisely of the same character as the **नाटिक**, save that its hero and heroine are generally of the merchant class (3) **मट्टक** is a variant of the **नाटिक** differing from it merely by being all in Prakrit and by having no introductory scenes of any kind and each of the acts being called चतुर्विंशति There is a dance of the **मट्टक** type in abundance in it (4) The **आटेक** is merely a variant of the **नाटिक** with love between a human hero and a superhuman heroine (5) The **गोटि** has 9 or 10 men and 5 or 6 women as actors (6) The **स्त्रैष्ण** is clearly a glorified dance (7) The **नाट्यवास्तव** is a ballet and pantomime (8) The **प्राह्लादक**, in which hero and heroine are slaves is based on a mimetic dance (9 and 10) So also are the **भाजिक** or little **भाज** and the **भाज** both being one act pieces (11) The **वास्तक** of the same general type, includes dialect in its language (12) The **देवापायक** may have one to three acts and its hero is of a high rank while battles form part of its subject, as they do also in the (13) **संसापक** which may have one to four acts (14) The **दृष्टिकौ** has four acts a hero of low rank and a precise time table of duration of acts (15) The **दिलासिक** has one act but is interesting in that the hero has to support him not only the **दृष्टिकौ** but also the parasite and a

friend (পৰ্মাণৰ্দ), the sentiment erotic. (16) The শিল্পক is mysterious, for it has four acts, allows all the manners, has a Brahman as hero with a man of lower rank as secondary hero (উপনায়ক), excludes the calm (শান্ত) and comic (হাত্ত) sentiments and has 27 most miscellaneous constituents , if a pantomime, it was not amusing. (17) The প্রের্ণণ or প্রের্ণক is a piece in one act with a hero of low birth, full of combats and hard words , it has no introductory scenes and both the নাভি (benediction) and the অরোচনা are performed behind , the scenes (18) শ্রীগন্ধিত is in a single act, the story legendary, the hero and heroine of of high rank, the manner verbal , the word শ্রী is often mentioned or the goddess is presented seated and singing some verses The only play of that name is the শুভদ্রাহদণ of নাথ্ব before 1600 A D.

The নাটক remains the form of drama par excellence, a pre eminence due to its comparative freedom from narrow restrictions as well as to the submissive spirit of the dramatists. The প্রকরণ is essentially similar to the নাটক save in the social status of the hero and heroine The distinction between a প্রকরণ and a নাটক is far less important than the similarity. The farce and the monologue are confined to representations of the lower and courser side of life It is amazing that we find no serious effort to produce pure comedy in Sanskrit drama. The farce and the monologue may hover on the borders of that form ; but they never attain it The conception of human activity striving with circumstances, endeavouring

to assert itself in the teeth of forces superhuman in power and uncontrollable and meeting with utter ruin but yet maintaining its honour, which affords the spring of tragedy in Greece is alien to Indian thought. Fate is nothing outside man ; he is subject to no alien influences he is what he has made himself by acts in past lives , if he suffers evil he has deserved it as just retribution and to sympathise with him to feel the pathos of his plight is really unthinkable Death, therefore by violence is merely a just punishment of crime and it is a more refined taste than that of Bhasa which bids us banish from the stage the spectacle of what is no more than an execution a scene as ill suited to the decorum and good taste of the serious drama as to the rude merriment of the farce or the monologue

Greek and Indian theory of drama —
 The unity of action is fully recognised in the **आर्यान्तिका** and the rule which insists that the events described in an act shall not exceed in duration a day has a certain similarity to the unity of time in Aristotle and is much more significant than such agreement as there is as to unity of place. The doctrine that the drama is an imitation (**अनृत्य**) does not differ from the doctrine of Mimesis but there is an essential distinction in what is imitated or represented in the **आर्यान्तिका** it is a state or condition in Aristotle it is action. The importance of acting is common in both schemes but Aristotle makes little of the dance Both stress the plot which the

introduction of a play within a play, the restoration of the dead to life and the use of intoxication on the stage as a humorous device. The Indian dramatists portray individual character and not types of character. They are given to introducing romantic and fabulous elements, nay often the supernatural.

Character of Sanskrit drama —(1) Absence of tragedy i.e. absence of tragic conclusion (2) interchange of lyrical stanzas with prose dialogue, (3) use of Sanskrit for some characters and of Prakrit for others (4) considerable skill in weaving of the incidents of the plot and in the portraiture of individual character, (5) want of fertility of invention —the plot being borrowed from tradition or epic legends and (6) want of unity of time and place.

Arrangement of Sanskrit plays :—(1) प्रारम्भान्ति including नाट्यो अवाचारा वृत्तिरूपादानान् अनुरागी च च च and the conclusion of the prologue (2) मृगदि (3) अविष्युगादि (4) वृत्तिदि (5) अवस्थादि, and (6) उपगात्रादि. Intermediate scenes by विष्युग अवाच, चूलिका अवाचारां &c. Acts in a play vary from 1 to 10, but they are determined by the character of the drama. Thus the राजिका has 4 acts अहमा (farce) only one while the नाट्य has from 5 to 10 acts.

Kalidasa Like Shakespeare Kalidasa does not hesitate to repeat himself. We have in acts I and III of the अद्यता pretty idea of the king in concealment hearing the confidential talk of the heroine and her friends. The same motif is found in act III of the नानदिकापित्रिय

Like उर्ख्षी, शकुन्तला, when she leaves the king makes a pretext to delay her going, in the same way both express their love by letters Snatching by a bird of the magic stone in the विक्रमोवर्णीय is paralleled by गात्रिकी's seizure of विद्युषक in act VI, आयुष has a peacock to play with as the little ओष्ठ a lion cub, but in each case the comparison is all to the good of the heroine.

शकुन्तला in the Mahabharata : King Dushyanta arrives at the hermitage of sage Kanwa in his absence. Sakuntala receives him and on his enquiry recounts to him her ancestry without bashfulness. He proposes marriage, she argues and on being satisfied of the legality of a secret matrimonial union, agrees on the understanding that her son shall be made heir apparent. The king goes home alone. In course of time Sakuntala is delivered of a son who grows up in the hermitage, until at the due season the mother, under the escort of hermits, takes him to court. The hermits leave her, but she is undaunted when the king out of policy refuses to recognise her and accept the child as his son. She threatens him with death and taunts him with her higher birth. Finally a divine voice bids the king consecrate the child, when he explains that his action was due solely in order to have it made plain that the child was the rightful prince.

Kalidasa's improvement on the original plot : Sakuntala of the drama is a shy girl who would not dream of telling her birth, her maidens even are-

too modest to do more than hint and leave the experienced king to guess the rest Sakuntala's dawn ing love is depicted with perfect skill her marriage and its sequel are alluded to with delicate touches The king's absurd conduct is explained—a curse produces it and for that curse Sakuntala was not without responsibility for she allowed her love to make her forgetful of the es ential duty of hospitality and reverence to the guest who was a s u n t Before the king she utters no threat but behaves with perfect dignity stunned is she is by his repudiation of their love The king is a worthy hero whose devotion to his public duties and heroism are insisted on and who deserves by reason of his unselfishness to be reunited with his wife His love for his son is charmingly depicted and accepting the validity of the curse his conduct is irreproachable It is not that he despises the lovely maiden that he repulses her but is a pattern of virtue and morality he cannot accept as his wife one of whom he knows nothing specially when she is in the family way Sakuntala's own love for him is purified by her suffering and when she is finally united to him she is no longer a mere loving girl but one who has suffered tribulation of spirit and gained in depth and beauty of nature Saint वृग्नि is a delightful figure the celibate ascetic without child who lavishes on his adopted daughter all the wealth of his deep affection and who sends her to her hus band with words of tender advice He is brilliantly contrasted with the fierce pride and anger of वृग्नि who curses शृङ्गरी for her fault (blind of the truth—to err is human and to forgive is divine) and the solemn majesty of शशी who though married has abandoned all earthly thoughts and enjoys the happiness of release while yet contemplating the affairs of the world and intervening to set them in order with purely disinterested zeal The super natural (in excess in the विष्णुमोर्त्त्वीय) is reduced

to modest dimensions and intervenes hardly at all in the play, until we come to the last act, where the theory permits and even demands that the marvellous should be introduced and the celestial hermitage is a fit place for the reunion of two lovers severed by so hard a fate. The episode of the ring whose loss prevents the immediate recognition of the heroine is effectively conceived and woven into the plot. Kalidasa excels in depicting the emotions of love, from the first suggestion in an innocent mind to perfection of passion. He is hardly less expert in pathos. Act IV. of the *Sakuntala* is a model of tender sorrow and loving kindness with which even the trees take farewell of their beloved one contrasts with the immediate hard reception which awaits her at the royal court.

Megasthenes about India : About 322 B. C. Chandragupta came to the throne. In BC 302 Megasthenes came as the ambassador of Selucus Nikator to Chandragupta's court and stayed there for many years. Of his account of India (*The Indica*) only fragments have been preserved. From his account we learn that "women followed the king when he was going out to hunt," that "armed women accompanied him on war chariots or horses or elephants both on his hunting expeditions and into battle" and that any body approaching the women was killed. He says emphatically that there was no slavery in India. But both the *एष्ट्राय* and the *अर्थाय* speak of different classes of male and female slaves. Megasthenes says that the agriculturists who were the majority of the population never took part in war or in other public services, but their land was never devastated in war. The Indians had a navy with an admiral who had five officials under him.

